

A PURE MIND IN A CLEAN BODY

Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China

Ann Heirman & Mathieu Torck

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Introduction

1. Bodily care practices and objects

Daily life is naturally intertwined with objects and practices that establish routine and therefore give a sense of continuity. This is equally true for members of the Buddhist monastic community. Objects and practices form part of the living environment of monks and nuns, and are part of their daily routine, so they naturally evoke ideas and attitudes. Superficially, these objects and practices may be the same or at least similar for everyone, but their use, and particularly the reactions provoked by them, can vary considerably with context, space or time.

This book aims to study some of the most essential, but often overlooked, objects and practices of daily life: namely, those relating to bodily care. As with all topics, these need to be seen in a well-defined context, taking historical and geographical data into account. The context chosen for this study is the relatively well-documented environment of the early Buddhist monasteries. Over time, Buddhist monks and nuns have put painstaking effort into regulating all aspects of their daily life, thereby defining the identity of the Buddhist *saṃgha*.

As is well known, the Buddhist community developed in India a few centuries before start of the Common Era. In these early centuries, monastic leaders compiled large bodies of disciplinary texts or guidelines, commonly called *vinaya*. The Buddhist monastic way of life also continually attracted new people, who gradually spread across the Asian continent, taking the *vinaya* texts with them. These texts now constitute a very rich source of information about utensils, practices, ideas and attitudes that were essential in the functioning and even survival of the Buddhist communities. The authors/compilers address a variety of topics, including practical everyday issues. The *vinaya* texts therefore provide detailed information on bodily care, mainly based on experience gained in Indian Buddhist communities at the time of compilation of the *vinaya* guidelines.

Nevertheless, one needs to be cautious not to overestimate the information provided by *vinaya* data. As we will discuss below, the authors/compilers of the *vinaya* texts wrote with a particular aim – to guide Buddhist practitioners in the *ideal* way to behave. In this sense, the texts do not reveal what these practitioners actually did, but rather provide us with a set of normative guidelines. On the other hand, the objects and practices mentioned in the texts were at least imaginable, and must have been known to Buddhist followers who read the *vinaya*s or heard them recited.

1.1. From India to China

When monks started to travel from India to other parts of the Asian continent, they took with them much information, in both oral and written form, including disciplinary texts. One of the most travelled routes was east – to China. Via this route, Buddhism gradually entered Chinese society in the first centuries of the Common Era. It became an important movement, reaching many followers, which generated an urgent demand for translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese. Disciplinary texts were not given top priority by translators in the first few centuries, but this quite suddenly changed around the beginning of the fifth century, when there was an overwhelming interest in *vinaya* translations.[1] These provided the Chinese communities with a large collection of guidelines, which were immediately and widely debated. Subsequent commentaries on the *vinaya*s, as well as many new manuals written by Chinese monks who strove to improve the structure and discipline of their monasteries, constitute another rich source of information on how daily life was envisaged in Buddhist communities, this time in the new environment of China.

The significance of this new setting should not be underestimated. In fact, one could even ask: to what extent might Buddhist practices and concepts (in this case those relating to bodily care) be transferred from one society to another, through space and time, having originally been constructed within the limits of particular historically and socially situated conditions of production?[2] As expounded by Pierre Bourdieu, practices are generated as a result of 'systems of durable and transposable dispositions', which he defines as *habitus* – 'structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures'.[3] He thus underlines that these practices are often orchestrated collectively, and as such are not products of the initiative of one particular organizer. While moving through space and time, practices generated in specific conditions are reconsidered in new historical, geographical and social situations. They are shaped both within the conditions that generated them, and within the conditions where they are readjusted. Although born and developed in a specific environment, objects, practices and concepts have the capacity to move on. They are continually (re-)shaped, structured by the conditions that surround them, while also giving these conditions newly developing features.

It is within this framework, and through the spread of Buddhist discipline and guidelines for daily life, that we aim to analyse the development of items and practices used in bodily care, as well as associated changing mentalities, through space and time. Through this research we hope to show which basic objects, practices and mentalities relating to bodily care were described and transmitted in Indian disciplinary texts, and reveal how these were received, adapted, further spread, occasionally rejected, or simply went unnoticed in the Chinese environment into which they were introduced.

At the same time, it should be noted that utensils and practices that appear in both Indian and Chinese communities were not necessarily transmitted from the former to the latter. They could equally have come into being independently in both regions, or might have been the result of a complex interaction of several factors. One

should, as John Kieschnick aptly expresses, avoid an 'illusion of impact', which suggests 'a passive Chinese culture overwhelmed by a powerful foreign religion'.[4] Nevertheless, since *vinaya* texts certainly travelled from India to China, Chinese monks who referred to them must have noticed similarities and differences in the utensils used by monastics, as well as in the practices and attitudes adopted in the Chinese monasteries.

1.2. Material culture

As a study of utensils and practices, and the attitudes relating to them, our research aims to describe the historical and geographical development of material objects and artefacts, while analysing the practices and attitudes associated with them. In this way, we hope to enhance our knowledge of material culture in the long period of intense contact between India and China that was nurtured by Buddhist communities. As formulated by John Kieschnick, today 'material culture … [is] generally defined as artifacts, as well as ideas about and conduct related to artifacts, with "artifacts" limited to material objects made or altered by human beings'.[5] Material objects also evoke emotions, which often vary between cultures and religions. This is certainly true for objects relating to our subject – bodily care. In this context, it is important to differentiate between objects specifically designed by their manufacturers to evoke emotion (and accepted as such by their users) and those that evoke reactions and emotions inadvertently. The line between these two types of object is often not clear cut. For instance, tooth wood – which is basically a tool to clean the teeth – can be made or used in such a way that it generates an emotional state. Still, the makers of artefacts used in Buddhist bodily care did not primarily aim to generate emotions. Rather, as we shall see, their principal aim was to eliminate them.

When *vinaya* masters discuss bodily care in a Buddhist monastic context, they define a number of categories relating to both personal and communal care. The main categories that have emerged from our analysis of monastic sources relate to: cleaning one's body and mouth; relieving oneself; and cutting hair and trimming nails. These practices occupy relatively large portions of the daily lives of monks and of nuns, and all are related to continuous and unavoidable changes in the human body. Nevertheless, they are often ignored or even concealed, as much by religious practitioners themselves as by supporters or critics of religious communities. Also, academic scholarship has a tendency to focus on doctrine while neglecting the people behind it and the context in which it is formulated.[6] Still, material objects and related ideas and practices are important elements in all human daily life. They inevitably evoke attitudes both within and outside religious communities that shape the emotions and identities of the practitioners. In this way, in addition to being functional, material objects are interwoven with mental structures that transgress their everyday character. This is what Jean Baudrillard defines as 'quotidienneté vécue' ('lived experience of everyday life'): objects are not only used but experienced; and they rely on the conditions in which they are (re-)shaped.[7]

1.3. Monastic and lay people

As indicated above, objects and practices relating to bodily care are generally not designed to have any religious significance. Furthermore, their use is not limited specifically to a monastic or even a religious environment. On the contrary, they are present in everyone's daily life. They evoke similar attitudes and ideas in both monastic and secular environments, since treatment and care of the body is a matter of concern for all human beings. In this way, bodily care provides an interesting bridge between two environments that may mutually support or reject each other and are therefore, in this sense, always interconnected. People may move easily from one environment to the other: because they enter – either temporarily or permanently – the monastic order; because they visit each other's living quarters; or because they decide to leave the monastery and return to lay life.[8] However, contact between the monastic and lay environments might have been even closer than is suggested by the Buddhist disciplinary texts. As shown by Hao Chunwen in a detailed study of manuscripts dating from the Late Tang to the Early Song period (roughly the ninth to the eleventh century CE), many monastics of Dunhuang, in the west of present-day China, lived outside the monastery walls, often with family members.[9] They did so with the full permission of their monastic leaders.

This close contact between the monastic and lay environments probably increased the Chinese masters' concern for the image of the *saṃgha* in the outside world. Over several generations, these masters therefore expressed what an ideal Buddhist community should look like. They did so with a specific audience in mind: both newcomers to the community and their fellow monks. This ideal standard was then overtly displayed to the laity, thus providing the Buddhist community with a clear, socially valued identity. It joined existing norms of lay society, from Confucian ethical guidelines to medico-philosophical treatises. Only rarely, however, did Buddhist texts compare their standards to lay practices. If there is any explicit comparison at all, it is to animal behaviour, which is clearly considered to be totally inappropriate. In this way, Buddhist normative texts can also be seen as didactic devices, warning the Buddhist community against bad manners, albeit without explicitly naming those who displayed such bad manners. Anyone who did behave inappropriately, however, would certainly get the message as soon as they entered a monastery.

1.4. Beyond daily life

In all movement between monastic and lay settings, daily objects and practices provide a sense of continuity that goes beyond everyday business. Such a sense of continuity also seems to be essential for the successful spread of a religious movement, such as Buddhism. As we will see, Chinese masters explicitly and repeatedly highlight their links with the homeland of the Buddha. The essential bridges of continuity between India and China, and between the religious and secular worlds, will thus be a recurring focus throughout the book. How were Indian utensils and practices of

bodily care received in the Chinese monastic environment? How were they applied, adapted, neglected or rejected, and what reactions did they provoke? Can we speak only of transmission, or did similar utensils and practices develop independently in China and India? In terms of transmission, were these utensils and practices transmitted solely by monastic contact? Did the Chinese initiate new practices and/or attitudes or merely adopt and reinforce existing ones? Was there any interaction between the religious and secular worlds, and, if so, in what sense? And, finally, how did monastic leaders perceive the tasks of bodily care and what did this imply for Buddhist monks and nuns?

Twenty-first-century readers might expect most of the directives relating to bodily care to be linked to hygiene, for that is how we generally understand these practices today.[10] Some of the guidelines do indeed correspond to what has since been justified by scientific investigation. And some practices are promoted through a clear understanding of causal connections. Bathing and teeth cleaning, in particular, are associated with good health (although, strikingly, good toilet practices are not). Yet, such hygienic considerations are mostly found only in the Indian disciplinary texts. The Chinese Buddhist commentaries and manuals tend to pay much less attention to them, with the notable exception of the eighth-century travel account of the monk Yijing 義淨. Although hygiene does not disappear totally from the scene in China, there seems to be very little hygienic motivation for the increasing bodily restraint that Chinese monastics impose upon themselves. Rather, for the Chinese, the strongest motivating force behind the growing demand for control over the body clearly stems from the institutional and social structure, and from the way all people, monastic as well as lay, are connected to each other. By contrast, the positive or negative impact of a particular practice on health plays a very minor role.

Bodily care practices are of interest not only because they give us an insight into the daily routines of monks and nuns. Rather, they help us understand the full implications of the whole of monastic life. They throw light on Buddhist monastic people and their institutions, which in turn allows us to increase our knowledge of their inclinations, of what they considered to be good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate. The mass of information we have on how to deal with the body in a social context (toilet practices, washing and cleaning) reveals the extent to which this behaviour plays a central role in society. When Buddhism moved from India to China, bodily care practices became even more important for the monastics. Even highly renowned masters discussed them in depth, providing us with a wealth of information. The rules and guidelines they drafted reveal a general, ideal pattern of a well-structured monastic body that is closely related to the lay community. Consequently, the Chinese masters' normative writings on the body offer an invaluable information on the development of monastic life from India to China, not to mention wider Chinese society.

These Chinese masters not only read and copied what came to them from India but increasingly observed their own environment in an attempt to build up new struc-

tures for their monastic institutions. They not only passed on tradition but recorded experience. Similarities between their guidelines on correct behaviour not only reveal a literary network – important for safeguarding the Buddhist tradition – but indicate a concern to compile codes that were meaningful and necessary to the people they wanted to instruct and shape. And, as we shall see, this demand for a uniformly accepted code of good behaviour became ever more emphatic as time went on. This can clearly be discerned from the fact that, in addition to basic disciplinary texts, the Chinese masters rushed to compile ever more commentaries, new guidelines of decent behaviour, and manuals for novices. Consequently, each and every individual was sure to be exposed to both peer pressure and social control. This is very similar to what Norbert Elias, in his fascinating work on changing manners in sixteenth-eighteenth-century Europe, describes as follows: "People, forced to live with one another in a new way, become more sensitive to the impulses of others. Not abruptly, but very gradually the code of behavior becomes stricter and the degree of consideration expected of others becomes greater. The sense of what to do in order not to offend or shock others becomes subtler, and in conjunction with the new power relations the social imperative not to offend others becomes more binding, as compared to the preceding phase."[11]

Similar processes developed in imperial China. The explosion of writing on bodily care from the Tang to the Song dynasty shows a growing impulse to control one's own behaviour, with ever more respect paid to what others might think. The striving for spotlessness, seen as the expression of a pure mind, gradually moves to the foreground, until it becomes the central focus of the most influential manuals on monastic life. This is particularly the case in the large public monasteries of the Song dynasty (960–1279), which amass ever more detailed compilations of precepts – highly valued guidelines that set the standard for centuries to come.

We aim to illustrate this ongoing process up to its culmination point in the Song through this study of daily bodily care practices. Such practices might be viewed as relatively simple and elementary, but Norbert Elias suggests that their very triviality gives us a clear insight into the structure and development of the psyche and its relationships as embodiments of social and psychological life.[12] When taken out of isolation and grouped together, bodily care practices – among which the scope for individual variation within the social standard is relatively small[13] – offer an overview of a process: a gradual transformation of behaviour and emotions that is characterized by an advancing purity threshold. This process is recurrently re-enacted (in abbreviated form) in the life of each individual, and therefore follows what Elias terms 'a fundamental law of sociogenesis and psychogenesis'.[14] It displays the development of a clear Buddhist monastic self-image in Chinese society, defined by a common code. Outward behaviour, a particular focus of this code, thus shows itself as the expression of the inner identity of the Chinese Buddhist community.

2. Overview of sources

When studying bodily care, relevant sources are not always easy to find. This subject was often seen as trivial and therefore was not automatically included in historical documents. Utensils used in bodily care are rarely described or illustrated, and they are often so fragile that very few have survived. Still, various monastic as well as secular sources do contain valuable material, allowing quite a detailed picture of an ideal setting of bodily care.

2.1. The monastic context

For a study of the monastic context, we have a wealth of monastic guidelines at our disposal. A common term for all disciplinary guidelines is *vinaya*, translated in Chinese as *lü* 律 – rule or law. All *vinaya* texts primarily contain practical rules, rather than theoretical observations. Some compilations can be considered as key texts for monastic discipline in India, in China, or in both. They comprise our main sources. First, we focus on the Indian *vinaya* texts. As we will see, most of these survive only in their Chinese translations – translations that underpinned the formation of Chinese monastic life. It is therefore not surprising that Chinese masters eagerly commented upon the *vinaya* texts.

These masters also wrote their own compilations, still deeply influenced by the *vinaya*s, but also strongly attracted to a new movement, commonly called Mahāyāna, which reached China in the very early stages of Chinese Buddhism. A central concept in Mahāyāna Buddhism is the *bodhisattva* figure, 'a being oriented towards enlightenment'. While the *bodhisattva* ideal already appears in so-called birth stories (*jātaka*) of the Buddha, who in his many earlier lives – as a *bodhisattva* – cultivated perfections such as generosity and morality, in Mahāyāna Buddhism it is believed that there are many such *bodhisattva*s, living in a system of countless worlds. These *bodhisattva*s can offer help to all living beings. Rules of moral conduct for *bodhisattva*s were stipulated and grouped in several Mahāyāna texts. Furthermore, it was accepted that everyone is potentially a *bodhisattva*, since every living being possesses at least some element of the Buddha-nature, and thus the germs of enlightenment.

Once the *bodhisattva* guidelines had been drafted, they were adopted by monastic and lay followers alike, and could even form part of a formal ordination-like ceremony at which a *bodhisattva*-vow was made. For Chinese monastics, even up to the present day, ordination based on the traditional *vinaya* texts has always preceded this.[15]

As soon as Buddhism started to develop in China, the homeland of the Buddha raised the interest and curiosity of Chinese Buddhist monks. Several of them even travelled to India to find texts and experience the Indian Buddhist environment; and some of these wrote lengthy travel accounts, offering the reader a glimpse into the

Indian monastic world. As we will see later, these Chinese authors regularly compare their Indian experiences with their Chinese background.

Finally, based on many centuries of *vinaya* texts and compilations, a new genre started to develop in China from the eighth century onwards – the so-called 'rules of purity', *qing gui* 清規 . While the *qing gui* clearly rely on earlier compilations of disciplinary rules, they also constitute an entirely new phenomenon, with their principal aim being the practical organization of large public monasteries. When this is combined with the fact that Buddhism in India gradually disappeared – contrary to the situation in China, where large monasteries, particularly influenced by Chan practices, still enjoyed strong public support – the *qing gui* also mark the end of a continuous Buddhist influx from India to China.[16] From now on, China, and its Chan monasteries, becomes the example to be copied, at least for a number of influential Japanese traveller monks.

Indian *vinaya* rules

The core texts of *vinaya* monastic discipline are a list of rules (*prātimokṣa*) and a set of formal procedures (*karmavācanā*). The *prātimokṣa* – one for monks (*bhikṣu*) and one for nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*) – should be recited every fortnight during a ceremony called *poṣadha*.[17] It is important to note that the rules of the *prātimokṣa* are not based on one consistent exposition but rather were formulated gradually, in reaction to each occasion when the behaviour or attitude of a monk or a nun was considered to be wrong. This process continued long after the demise of the Buddha, until, at a certain point, the list of rules was finalized into one text, the *prātimokṣa*, possibly as a result of a process of identification and self-definition of the different *vinaya* schools.[18] For the Buddhist tradition, however, it always remained very important to attribute all regulations to the Buddha himself.[19]

Different rules (and, more often, different interpretations of rules) had already emerged in early Buddhism, so that various traditions, each defined by its own *vinaya*, came into being.[20] These *vinaya*s display a lot of similarities, but they can also exhibit quite remarkable differences in practices, or in the interpretation of and attitudes towards these practices. The several *prātimokṣa*s that are recited at the above-mentioned *poṣadha* ceremony and accepted by every new member at the ordination ceremony serve as a bond between the members of that particular *vinaya* tradition. It is in this sense that *prātimokṣa* texts reached China, possibly from the third century CE.[21]

The rules of the *prātimokṣa* are introduced and discussed in detail in explanatory chapters for monks and nuns, called *bhikṣu-* and *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*s. *Karmavācanā* procedures, on the other hand, are explained in detail in chapters traditionally called *skandhaka*s or *vastu*s. Apart from expositions on ceremonies and procedures, these *skandhaka*s or *vastu*s also contain myriad short guidelines on many aspects of monastic life, such as food, clothing and various forms of behaviour, including those relat-

ing to bodily care. The *bhikṣu-* and *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*s, together with the *skandhaka*s or *vastu*s, constitute what is generally called 'a full *vinaya*'. Six of these full *vinaya*s survive to this day, most of them only in Chinese.[22] They are:

– Pāli *vinaya*[23]
– *Mishasai bu hexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (T.1421), *Mahīśāsakavinaya*
– *Mohesengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 (T.1425), *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*
– *Sifen lü* 四分律 (T.1428), *Dharmaguptakavinaya*
– *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (T.1435), *Sarvāstivādavinaya*
– *Genbenshuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (TT.1442–1451), *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*

However, in the first few centuries of Chinese Buddhism, there was no Chinese translation of a full *vinaya* text. This is supposedly what prompted the monk Faxian 法顯 (exact dates unknown) to start his long and difficult journey to India in 399. As he noted in his travel account, *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, *Record of the Eminent Monk Faxian* (T.2085), he hoped to find an original version of the *vinaya*.[24] He returned to China with copies of the *Mahīśāsaka-* and *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*s, as well as extracts of the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*. In the meantime, however, two full *vinaya*s had reached China via the northern land routes and had already been translated into Chinese: the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, translated between 404 and 409 by Punyatrāta/Puṇyatara,[25] Kumārajīva and Dharmaruci, and revised a few years later by Vimalākṣa[26]; and the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 between 410 and 412.[27] The third *vinaya* to be translated into Chinese was the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, brought to China by Faxian.[28] It was Faxian himself, together with the Indian master Buddhabhadra, who completed this task in Jiankang, the capital of the Southern Song dynasty, between 416 and 418. After the demise of Faxian, the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* was translated, again in Jiankang, between 423 and 424. According to the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, compiled by Huijiao 慧皎 around 530, this translation was done by Buddhajīva, Zhisheng 智勝, Daosheng 道生 and Huiyan 慧嚴.[29] Finally, more than two hundred years later, at the beginning of the eighth century, the monk Yijing 義淨 translated large parts of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* into Chinese, as well as other monastic texts belonging to the same school.[30] Around the same time, however, an imperial decree declared that only the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* should be used for ordinations in China, an initiative that was strongly supported by the seventh-century *vinaya* master Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667).[31] The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* consequently became the reference point for monastic discipline in China, and all ordinations since then have been based on its guidelines.

Unification of the *vinaya* traditions in China was prompted by both a political and a monastic desire to have only one basic *vinaya* for the organization of all Chinese monasteries. This organization had to be as 'correct' as possible. For some influential *vinaya* masters, 'correct' meant first and foremost that Chinese monastic life needed to be linked directly to the Indian *vinaya* traditions.[32] However, when four full *vina-*

yas were translated into Chinese at the beginning of the fifth century, there was much debate about the sometimes contradictory guidelines they contained.[33] It was because of these contradictions that Daoxuan pleaded for the use of only one *vinaya* – the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* – on which, he claimed, the first Chinese ordinations were based.[34] This does not imply, however, that only this *vinaya* should be studied. It is obvious from Daoxuan's commentaries that he studied all of the available *vinaya* texts extensively. Although he emphasizes that the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* is the basic *vinaya* text, he suggests that other *vinayas* can also be consulted, if necessary.[35]

Given the manner in which the *vinaya* texts came into being, and given their distribution in diverse Indian regions, it would be wrong to think that these texts are the first-hand accounts of Buddhist authors. On the other hand, one should not be overly dismissive of them, either. Objects mentioned in the *vinayas* must have been known to the compilers/authors as well as their readers and audiences. The same can be said for the ideas and practices relating to these objects. These ideas and practices show us the way in which monastic masters wanted practitioners to behave. Although the *vinaya* texts might not always reveal what monastics and lay people actually did or even believed – so one has to be careful not to interpret them as direct reflections of historical reality – they provide information on practices that were at least imaginable. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that all *vinaya* guidelines were considered to be the word of the Buddha himself and that they were recognized as such and transmitted to Buddhist practitioners on this basis (even though modern historical research puts this assumption into question). The guidelines are seen as regulations stipulated by the Buddha, and as such are of utmost importance. They define correct conduct, and are not only to be understood in theory but applied in everyday life. To quote Shayne Clarke, 'Indian Buddhist monastic law codes provide us with rich insights into how the canonical authors/redactors, the monastic lawmakers, envisaged the Indian Buddhist experience'.[36]

The *vinaya* regulations must have been understood in the same way by both the compilers/authors and their audience, thereby providing a unified cultural background at the time of the compilation of the *vinaya* texts. However, this unity of background changed when the *vinayas* were used and disseminated in later years and in regions that had hardly anything in common with the Indian contexts in which they were drafted. When the *vinaya* texts were translated into Chinese, neither the Chinese *vinaya* masters nor their audience were born and raised in a context that illuminated the *vinaya* regulations they were (in many instances) hoping to use in their Buddhist monasteries. This situation resulted in an extensive commentary literature, in which Chinese masters went to great lengths to accommodate the *vinaya* rules to a new setting by taking their Chinese audience into account. Again, primarily these outline the ideal way in which Buddhist masters want practitioners to behave. And, again, this reveals habits and mindsets that were at least imaginable for both the authors and their audience. Still, it remains difficult to assess the extent to which Chinese members of the monastic community and their lay followers understood and practised what was described in the Indian *vinayas*. In this context, as we shall see, the most

interesting additional information can be found in reports of Chinese monks who travelled to India. Familiar with both worlds, they often compare the two and try to explain to their fellow Chinese monks what they experienced and how this could or should be interpreted in a Chinese context.

Chinese commentaries and compilations

In addition to the aforementioned translations, the first few centuries of Chinese monastic Buddhism saw two major developments: Chinese masters drafted new compilations of guidelines that were directed at the growing Chinese monastic communities; and they wrote detailed commentaries on the Indian *vinaya* texts. A basic disciplinary text is the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀 , *Great* (*Sūtra*) *of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*, which was probably compiled in the fifth century (T.1470).[37] The text discusses many elements of everyday life, including how to wash the body and clean the teeth. A second very instructive text is the *Jiaojie xinxue biqiu xinghu lüyi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀 , *Exhortation on Manners and Etiquette for Novices in Training* (T.1897), compiled by one of the most famous *vinaya* masters, the aforementioned *bhikṣu* Daoxuan.[38] This provides extensive guidelines for new members of the community on a variety of daily matters with the aim of integrating newcomers into the (ideal) monastic life. Daoxuan was a very influential master during his lifetime, and his writings are still considered to be standard interpretations in Chinese Buddhism. He was the founder of the Nanshan lüzong 南山律宗 , 'the *vinaya* school of Nanshan', a school that promoted *vinaya* rules, and in particular the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*. As the abbot of the Ximing 西明 monastery near the capital Chang'an, Daoxuan wrote several *vinaya* commentaries, and actively promoted Buddhism at the imperial court.[39] One of his most noted commentaries is the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 , *An Abridged and Explanatory Commentary on the Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1804), in which he comments on the *prātimokṣa* rules for monks and nuns. As the title suggests, this is primarily an analysis of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, but it contains references to and interpretations of many other *vinaya* texts, too.

Mahāyāna rules

In addition to commentaries and manuals based on the Indian *vinaya*s, the fifth century saw the so-called *bodhisattva* rules increase in popularity, with the intention being to provide the Chinese Buddhist community with a guideline of Mahāyāna moral precepts. The most influential of these texts was the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 , the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* (T.1484), which in the second of its two fascicles contains a set of 58 precepts.[40] Although, traditionally, the *Fanwang jing* was thought to have been translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 406, the text was actually composed in China, probably around the middle of the fifth century.[41] It is uncertain precisely when the *Fanwang jing* started to play an important role in Chinese Bud-

dhism, but Paul Groner suggests it must have been within one or two centuries of its compilation.[42] The second fascicle, with its list of precepts, was circulating as a discrete text by the end of the fifth century.

Chinese traveller accounts

Not surprisingly, information on daily practices also occurs frequently in travel accounts. Chinese monks regularly went to India in search of ideas or texts, or simply out of curiosity in the homeland of the Buddha. The most famous Chinese travellers were: Faxian 法顯, who left for India in 399 CE and returned to China around 414[43]; Xuanzang 玄奘, who travelled in India and some parts of Central Asia between 627 and 644[44]; and Yijing 義淨, who lived in India and South Asia between 671 and 695.[45] These three masters recorded their experiences in travel accounts: *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, *Record of the Eminent Monk Faxian* (T.2085),[46] *Da Tang xi yu ji* 大唐西域記, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions* (T.2087),[47] and *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas* (T.2125), respectively.[48]

Although these travel reports certainly contain interesting data, one should approach them with some caution. It would be wrong to interpret the reports of Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing purely as first-hand, eyewitness accounts. Rather, all three clearly wrote with their home public in mind, and they made extensive use of Chinese texts with which their readers would have been familiar. As Max Deeg has shown in his very detailed study of Faxian's travel account, both Faxian and Xuanzang incorporate many strongly hagiographical stories in their accounts, which testify to their reliance on earlier material, and to Xuanzang's knowledge of the work of his predecessor.[49] Moreover, all three monks describe regions that they never visited, so they must have relied on second-hand accounts – either written or oral – for at least some of their information. This was particularly true of Xuanzang, who provides a lengthy account of Sri Lanka even though he never visited the island.[50] Furthermore, his account of the region of Mathurā relies on information provided by Faxian, rather than Xuanzang's own experiences.[51] Clearly, then, these travel reports must be approached critically and contextualized. One has to compare them carefully with information found in Buddhist literature and extant Indian sources, and with archaeological research. Only then might one define their historicity accurately. On the other hand, these accounts indisputably provide invaluable information on the way travelling monks envisage monastic life.

Of the three, Yijing reports everyday life in by far the most detail, both recording and commenting upon a wide variety of daily objects and practices. In a manner reminiscent of Daoxuan, Yijing complains about the way Chinese Buddhist monks and nuns fail to live up to the discipline required of members of a monastic community.[52] According to Yijing, the *vinaya*s in China had been commented upon so many times that the correct meaning had become unclear.[53] He also underlines that *vinaya*s

should never be intermingled.[54] For Yijing, the only solution is a return to an original Indian *vinaya* tradition. According to his writings, this was why he decided to leave China for India. During his long stay in the city of Nālandā, he carefully studied the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, a *vinaya* which he later translated into Chinese.[55] Meanwhile, in his travel account, he reflects extensively on *vinaya* matters.

However, Yijing did not write solely for Buddhist monks and nuns. He also had an imperial public, notably the Empress Wu Zetian (r. 695–705), who was desperate to secure Buddhist legitimization for her rule,[56] and who seems to have held Yijing in high esteem, even waiting upon him on his return to Luoyang, at that time the Chinese capital.[57] One might therefore be justified in suggesting that he wanted to please the empress with his travel report, given that Wu Zetian wanted to create a Buddhist space in China to rival that in India and enhance her power, which she had officially sanctioned through a Buddhist omen of approval.[58] Therefore, taken in isolation, Yijing's report has to be read with considerable caution and awareness of his situation.

At the same time, though, Yijing wanted to improve the practices of Chinese monks, with India as an edifying example.[59] In his mind, the *vinaya* situation in China needed to be corrected, and freed from Chinese misinterpretations. According to Yijing, this was possible with the translation and implementation of a new *vinaya*, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. In his travel report, he relies extensively on this *vinaya*, and, as we will see, several of the practices he claims to have witnessed in India correspond exactly to passages of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. This seems to indicate that he sometimes wanted to represent India as perfect, and thus very similar to the *vinaya*, rather than describe the reality. However, elsewhere in the report, his record of what he sees in India deviates from both the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* and Chinese practices – as is the case, for instance, when he outlines the rules of female probationers (*śikṣamāṇā*).[60] Furthermore, in many passages, his account extensively compares and contrasts the Indian situation with the Chinese one – for instance, when describing the proper way to sit when eating.[61] Yijing's account is probably more trustworthy during such passages. In any case, the objects and attitudes he describes were clearly important to him, and so can be seen as elements he wanted to see introduced in China. As for his description of Indian monasteries, including his lengthy accounts of the monastic community of Nālandā, some caution is required, given that he wanted to please his imperial audience and/or wanted to outline an ideal disciplinary order for his fellow monks to follow in China. Nevertheless, as we will see, with the help of comparative sources, such as Indian texts on bodily care, Yijing's account of objects and practices he found in the Indian monastic environment can often still be substantiated and placed in a relevant context.

Qing gui 清規 , 'rules of purity'

From the eighth century onwards, a new genre of rules started to develop, the so-called 'rules of purity', *qing gui* 清規 , which were particularly popular among Chan monks.[62] While still relying on earlier *vinaya* texts,[63] these rules focus on the practical organization of large public monasteries.[64] The Buddhist tradition attributes the first rules of purity to the monk Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814). However, although Baizhang Huaihai might well have had some interest in drafting regulations for his monastery, none of the rules later ascribed to him was unique, but rather testify to a growing demand for regulations for large Chinese monasteries.[65] The oldest extant code is the *Chanyuan qing gui* 禪苑清規 , *The Pure Rules for the Chan Monastery* (W 111, pp.875–942), compiled by Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗賾 (?–1107?) in 1103.[66] These rules have been updated regularly and have become standard for the organization of all Chinese public monasteries, regardless of their school affiliation. They did not replace earlier *vinaya* rules but rather supplemented them by offering practical organizational guidelines. The most important updates include: the *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用 , *Daily Life in the Assembly* (W 111, pp.943–947), a monastic text compiled in 1209 by the Chan monk Wuliang Zongshou 無量宗壽 [67]; the late thirteenth-century *Conglin jiaoding qing gui zongyao* 叢林校定清規總要, *Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries*, compiled by the monk Jinhua Weimian 金華惟勉 (W 112, pp.1–55); the *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* 禪林備用清規, *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, compiled in 1311 by the monk Zeshan Yixian 澤山弌咸 (W 112, pp.56–149); and the very influential *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*, compiled by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between 1335 and 1343 (T.2025).[68] Again, all these texts outline the ideal organization of a Buddhist monastery, as envisaged by their authors/compilers. And they also refer to objects and practices that were presumably known to authors and audiences alike. Therefore, just as the *vinaya* texts had done previously, these manuals reveal how monastic masters wanted Buddhist life to be organized. Analysis of their views on objects and practices used in bodily care, when placed in their relevant contexts, can provide insights into which objects the monastics actually utilized, and how they viewed the use of these objects in their daily lives. Unfortunately, due to the nature of our sources, our findings relate primarily to China's largest monasteries, which comprised only a fraction of the active monasteries in the period under discussion. However, these monasteries set a kind of benchmark and therefore allow us to identify those objects, practices and attitudes that enjoyed the aura of a normative ideal.[69]

2.2. The lay world

Unsurprisingly, the material aspects that are touched upon in Buddhist monastic texts largely mirror the material culture that was present in the lay world. One aspect of our work is to illustrate what lies behind these monastic texts. In this instance, our approaches towards India and China are somewhat different. In order to elucidate

the links between the Buddhist materialities and the ancient Indian world, our emphasis lies on providing background information on objects used in bodily care that are mentioned in monastic texts. Throughout the book, a substantial body of source material will be used for this purpose, but two texts stand out: the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* and *Caraka Saṃhitā*, two exponential works from the rich Ayurvedic tradition. Following this approach, we aim to create a richly contextualized perspective that gives more dimension to the material aspects mentioned in the *vinaya*s.

In our assessment of the material culture of the lay world vis-à-vis its monastic counterpart in China, we adopt a more reconstructive approach. By adding a window on the Chinese lay world of the first millennium, we attempt to provide a diachronical reconstruction of the material world of bodily care of a virtual young man on the verge of entering a monastic community. We use a variety of sources from different domains of the world of the Chinese elites. (In Chinese pre-modern history, the bulk of writings and archaeological evidence comes from elite culture, so we have to limit ourselves to the socially higher classes.) Since many aspects of bodily care exhibit connections with the medical sphere, the most important sources belong to the rich Chinese medical tradition. In addition, such sources as archaeological findings, literary works and paintings can help to illuminate what is left unmentioned in other textual traditions. For instance, the depiction of a tooth-brushing heretic on a ninth-century Dunhuang mural is highly significant in the context of our analysis of tooth-cleaning practices. And the mention of what is likely to be the use of raw straw paper as toilet paper in a fifth-century ghost story throws faint yet important light on the material context of toilet practices in the Chinese lay world. Drawing upon such sources, within the limits of the given data, we reflect on the material circumstances that surrounded the aspirant Buddhist monk in his lay life. Here, it is our goal to structure all data into a framework that allows us to clarify possible interactions between the monastic and lay worlds.

Inevitably, a reconstruction will only ever offer an incomplete picture, and our illustration of the background of a young monk is no different. Also, it does not assume, as a starting point, a monolithic and static Chinese society during the first millennium. Rather, our premise is based on a complex yet dynamic realm of short- and long-term inventions and technical evolutions and innovations in which trends and traditions lasted for several generations or faded away quickly, never to return. Thus, we will attempt to put a finger on the pulse of the traditions of bodily care that existed at the heart of Chinese elite society. Furthermore, we will look at how these traditions met a foreign – that is, Indian – influence, and will strive to explain how objects, practices and techniques that developed in two separate cultural areas potentially influenced each other.

3. Outline of chapters

By and large, when bodily care is mentioned in monastic guidelines, it relates to: washing oneself, particularly after using the toilet; cleaning one's teeth and mouth; and cutting the hair and trimming the nails. All of these topics are linked to inescapable issues that impact upon a human body on a daily basis. One will inevitably get dirty, particularly when sweating, eating or going to the toilet. The physical need for nutrition prompts one to eat and drink, and this affects both the inner and the outer body. Nails and hair never stop growing, unless one suffers from certain diseases or baldness. Given these inevitabilities, this book has been divided into four chapters, each of which focuses on one particular topic.

The first chapter discusses bathing practices in a monastic compound. Every human body gets dirty. Even the smallest activity involves risk, and even if one reduces one's activities to virtually nil, the body will sweat as a result of environmental factors, such as high temperatures. Consideration of cleanliness – linked to health, respect and decorum – thus prompted Buddhist monastics to think deeply about how to organize their bathing. As we will see, bathing facilities very soon became a crucial element in all monastery design. The organization of bathing is relatively complex: one needs (at times, preferably warm) water, containers, washing utensils and products, and a suitable location. In addition, in order to avoid chaos, bathing activities should be well structured so that all monastics (and their visitors) know when and where to bathe. It is therefore not surprising that monastic documents contain a great deal of information on how bathing should be organized. Although not all of these guidelines could be implemented exactly as the masters envisaged, they reveal which objects and facilities were potentially available, and which aspects of the process of cleaning oneself were considered most important.

The second chapter is devoted to toilet facilities. Often described as an inevitable annoyance, toilet objects and practices are discussed at length in monastic disciplinary texts, meaning we have a wealth of source material on this topic. Monks and nuns are told how to build their toilet facilities, including urinals and washing places. They are given guidelines on how to use these facilities and on how to clean oneself afterwards. Cleanliness, purity of body and mind, and respect for each other and for the monastic and lay communities are at the core of these texts. As with all aspects of bodily care, dealing with human waste goes beyond the religious context, and objects and attitudes are shared by monastic and lay people alike.

The third chapter explores mouth- and teeth-cleaning, practices that naturally reflect the health of a person, his attitude towards hygiene and personal dignity, his health and the way he consumes food. The mouth and the teeth can therefore be viewed as signboard of oneself and indeed one's community, so it should come as no surprise that both monastic and lay authors pay considerable attention to this subject.

The fourth and final chapter is devoted to hair and nails, two features of the body that grow continuously. Monastic authors focus especially on the hair, not necessar-

ily in the context of bodily care, but because it has always been an important marker of Buddhist identity. Monks and nuns shave the hair of their heads in order to identify themselves as members of the Buddhist community. Indeed, hair-shaving or hairdressing is often used as a means to present oneself to the outside world. Additionally, as hair grows continuously, it demands constant care and attention. In this context, it is often linked to another part of the body – the nails. Here, the discourse focuses on decency. Buddhist monks and nuns are expected to have short nails, as well as short or no hair, as numerous mural paintings illustrate. By contrast, lay society, especially in Confucian China, did not easily accept this practice, arguing that all body parts are gifts from one's parents. So to give one of them up voluntarily, be it only the hair, could be viewed as an act of filial disrespect.

We hope that this analysis of the objects, practices and attitudes relating to bodily care will enhance understanding of what bodily care implies for Buddhist monastics and their lay environment.

Notes

1. For details, see Ann Heirman, "Vinaya from India to China," in *The Spread of Buddhism*, eds. Ann Heirman and Stephan-Peter Bumbacher (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 175–177.

2. Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1980), 92, transl. *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 55. See also Livia Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline: Hygiene, Meals and Etiquette," *T'oung Pao LXXXVII* (2001): 156–158.

3. Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique*, 88, transl., 53.

4. John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 292–293.

5. John Kieschnick, "Material Culture," in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, ed. John Corrigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 224.

6. A few notable exceptions are Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*; Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality, A Cultural History of Objects in Japanese Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), and three compilations of articles by Gergory Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004) and *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005).

7. Jean Baudrillard, *Le système des objets* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), 9, focuses on the relationships people have with objects. He puts forward some essential questions which constitute an important background to our research: 'comment les objets sont vécus, à quels besoins autres que fonctionnels ils répondent, quelles structures mentales s'enchevêtrent avec les structures fonctionnelles et y contredisent, sur quel système culturel, infra- ou transculturel, est fondée leur quotidienneté vécue'.

8. On the interaction between monastic institutions and lay people, see, most recently, John Kieschnick, "Buddhist Monasticism," in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD)*, eds. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 567; James Robson, ""Neither too far, nor too near": The Historical and Cultural Contexts of Buddhist Monasteries in Medieval China and Japan," in *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia*, eds. James Benn, Lori Meeks and James Robson (London: Routledge, 2010) and "Monastic Spaces and Sacred Traces," in *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia*, eds. James Benn, Lori Meeks and James Robson (London: Routledge, 2010), 43–48.

9. Hao Chunwen, *Tang hou qi Wu dai Song chu Dunhuang sengni de shehui shenghuo* 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活 (Social Life of Dunhuang Monks and Nuns in the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Early Song Period) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1998), 76–88.

10. Compare Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation, Erster Band* (Basel: Verlag Haus zum Falken, 1939), 152–157, transl. *The Civilizing Process, The History of Manners* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 114–117.

11. Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation,* 103–104, transl. 80.

12. Elias, op. cit., 157, transl. 117.

13. Elias, op. cit., 108, transl. 83.

14. Elias, op. cit., 174 (soziogenetisches und psychogenetisches Grundgesetz), transl. 129.

15. This order of ordination layers, with a first step based on the *vinaya*, followed by the *bodhisattva* ordination, does not necessarily imply that the traditional *vinaya* rules were always considered

superior. On the contrary, some ordination ceremonies, such as the one designed by Emperor Wu (r. 502–549) of the Liang dynasty, seem to suggest that the *vinaya* ordination was just a transitory state towards the full perfection of *bodhisattva*-hood (see Andreas Janousch, "The Emperor as Bodhisattva: the Bodhisattva Ordination and Ritual Assemblies of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. McDermott (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1999). For details on *bodhisattva* and *bodhisattva* rules, see, among others, Paul Demiéville ed., *Hôbôgirin, Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises, Deuxième fascicule* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve,1929–1930), 136–146; Paul Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching* and the Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai: A Study of Annen's *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 251–257, and "The Ordination Ritual in the Platform Sūtra within the Context of the East Asian Buddhist Vinaya Tradition," in *Fo Kuang Shan Report of International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism* (Kaohsiung: Fo-kuang shan, 1990); Li-ying Kuo, *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle* (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994), 37–58.

16. Journeys of Indian and Chinese monks travelling between their two countries were not at all uncommon until the eleventh century, when this practice quite suddenly came to a halt. As shown by Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle*, *Der älteste Bericht eines chinesischen buddhistischen Pilgermönchs über seine Reise nach Indien mit Übersetzung des Textes* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 62–64, there are several reasons for this sudden ending. Most importantly, Buddhism in India was no longer very vivid, the land routes became less accessible due to Islamic conquest wars in India and Central Asia, and Buddhism in China embarked on an increasingly domestic form of development.

17. The term *poṣadha* is derived from the Vedic term *upavasatha*, a day of fasting that precedes the days of the new and the full moon when the Vedic sacrifices were offered (on the term *poṣadha* and variants, see Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, *Das Poṣadhavastu, Vorschriften für die buddhistischen Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins* (Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalische Fachpublikationen, 1994), 1–4). In Buddhist monasteries, the term indicates the day and the ceremony at which the rules of the *prātimokṣa* are recited. These rules are listed according to their gravity, starting with the most serious offences. There are eight categories for monks, and seven for nuns. Rules dealing with bodily care appear primarily in the *pācittika* and *śaikṣa* categories. A *pācittika* (or variants) is an offence that needs to be expiated (cf. Ann Heirman, *'The Discipline in Four Parts', Rules for Nuns according to the Dharmaguptakavinaya* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002), part I, 141–147). A *śaikṣa* rule is a minor rule concerning proper behaviour. One who goes against it commits a *duṣkṛta*, lit. 'a bad deed' (cf. Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part I, 148–149). For details on the *prātimokṣa*, see among others, Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part I, 117–211; Oscar von Hinüber, *Das Pātimokkhasutta der Theravādin, Studien zur Literatur des Theravāda-Buddhismus II* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999). The number of rules in the *prātimokṣa*s of the different traditions varies between 227 and 263 for monks, and between 277 and 379 for nuns (see Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part I, 151).

18. See von Hinüber, *Das Pātimokkhasutta der Theravādin*, 89–91; Ann Heirman, "Vinaya: Perpetuum Mobile," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* LIII, no. 4 (1999).

19. For a discussion, see, in particular, von Hinüber, *Das Pātimokkhasutta der Theravādin*. See also Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1962), 74–84; Dieter Schlingloff, "Zum Interpretation des Prātimokṣasūtra," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 113 (1963); Oscar von Hinüber, "Buddhist Law According to the Theravāda-Vinaya, A Survey of Theory and Practice," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 18, no. 1 (1995): 7; Ann Heirman, "Indian Disciplinary

Rules and Their Early Chinese Adepts: A Buddhist Reality," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128, no. 2 (2008): 261–266.

20. It is uncertain when the *vinaya* schools came into being. The Buddhist texts traditionally place these developments in a time period soon after the demise of the Buddha. The first inscriptions attesting to a geographical distribution of schools date from the first century CE. For a detailed overview of the evolution and spread of early schools, see Petra Kieffer-Pülz, "Die buddhistische Gemeinde," in *Der Buddhismus I, Der indische Buddhismus und seine Verzweigungen*, eds. Heinz Bechert et al. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 285–302.

21. For more details on the first *vinaya* texts in China, see Funayama Tōru, "The Acceptance of Buddhist Precepts by the Chinese in the Fifth Century," *Journal of Asian History* 38, no. 2 (2004): 97–104, and Heirman, "Vinaya from India to China," 169–174.

22. Apart from these six *vinaya*s, the chapter for nuns (*bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*) of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, preserved in a transitional language between Prākrit and Sanskrit (Gustav Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, Including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin* (Patna: Kashi Jayaswal Research Institute, 1970), lv–lvi), is also extant. It has never been translated into Chinese. For a translation into French, see Édith Nolot, *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes, le bhikṣuṇīvinaya de l'école Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin* (Paris: Collège de France, 1991).

23. A Theravāda *vinaya* written in Pāli was translated into Chinese at the end of the fifth century. The translation was never presented to the emperor and was subsequently lost (see Ann Heirman, "The Chinese Samantapāsādikā and its School Affiliation," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 154, no. 2 (2004): 377–378, and "Vinaya from India to China," 190–192).

24. T.2085, p.857a6–8, p.864b17, p.864c1–3. With his travel account, Faxian also wanted to show his Chinese readership the privileged situation Buddhism enjoyed in the homeland of the Buddha, a situation that he felt could and should exist in China, too (see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 35–43).

25. Furuoduoluo 弗若多羅 .

26. See Akira Yuyama, *Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur, Erster Teil: Vinaya-Texte* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), 8. Of the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, many small Sanskrit fragments are extant (for an overview, see Jin-il Chung, "Sanskrit-Fragmente des sogenannten Daśādhyāya-vinaya aus Zentralasien – eine vorläufige Auflistung," in *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen*, *Vierte Folge*, eds. Jin-il Chung, Claus Vogel and Klaus Wille (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002).

27. For a translation into English of the Dharmaguptaka *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* (chapter for nuns), see Ann Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*.

28. The rules for nuns have been translated into English by Akira Hirakawa (in collaboration with Zenno Ikuno and Paul Groner), *Monastic Discipline for the Buddhist Nuns, An English Translation of the Chinese Text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* (Patna: Kashi Jayaswal Research Institute, 1982).

29. T.2059, p.339a9–10. For details, see Heirman, "Vinaya from India to China," 177.

30. Of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, a Tibetan translation as well as a wealth of (large) Sanskrit fragments are extant. For details, see Yuyama, *Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur, Erster Teil: Vinaya-Texte*, 12–33.

31. See Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei Liang-Jin Nanbeichao Fojiaoshi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (History of Buddhism of the Period of Han, Wei, Two Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties) (Banqiao: Luotuo Chubanshe, 1996 (first edition 1938)), vol. 2, 828–829; Ann Heirman, "Can we Trace the Early Dharmaguptakas?" *T'oung Pao* LXXXVIII (2002): 419–423. On the predominance of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, see also Funayama, "The Acceptance of Buddhist Precepts," 113–115.

32. For an overview, see, among others, Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 3–98.

33. Even the monk Faxian, who brought with him texts from three different traditions, suggests that not all *vinaya*s can be applied equally. In a personal note that he added to his translation of the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, he states that, at the time of king Aśoka, a majority of Indian monks chose this *vinaya* as the standard guideline. It is therefore named *Mahāsāṃghika*, *da zhong* 大眾 , 'large group' (T.1425, p.548b20–25).

34. Daoxuan, *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 , *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, T.2060, p.620c2–3, and *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 , *An Abridged and Explanatory Commentary on the Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1804, p.51c7–9.

35. Daoxuan, T.1804, p.2b19–20.

36. Shayne Clarke, "Monks Who Have Sex: *Pārājika* Penance in Indian Buddhist Monasticism," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 37, no. 1 (2009): 36.

37. Although the colophon to the text presents it as a Han translation by An Shigao (安世高 , second century), the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* was probably compiled in China during the fifth century (Akira Hirakawa, *Ritsuzō no Kenkyū* 律蔵の研究 , *A Study of the Vinaya-Piṭaka* (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1970), 193–196).

38. On this text, see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 26–28. On the attribution of the text to Daoxuan, see Yifa, op. cit., 226, note 103.

39. For details, see Robin B. Wagner, *Buddhism, Biography and Power: A Study of Daoxuan's "Continued Lives of Eminent Monks"* (Ph.D. dissertation Harvard University, 1995), 46–90; Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 23–28; Tan Zhihui, *Daoxuan's Vision of Jetavana, Imagining a Utopian Monastery in Early Tang* (Ph.D. dissertation University of Arizona, 2002), 29–83.

40. For a translation into French, see Jan J.M. De Groot, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine, Son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1893); into German, see Hankó László, *Der Ursprung der japanischen Vinaya-Schule, Risshū* 律宗 *und die Entwicklung ihrer Lehre und Praxis* (Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 2003), 125–181.

41. Paul Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching*," 253–257, 278; Funayama, "The Acceptance of Buddhist Precepts," 111.

42. See note 41.

43. On the dates of Faxian's life and travels, see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 22–30.

44. For a chronology of Xuanzang's travels, see, in particular, Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang, Übersetzer und Heiliger* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 111–118.

45. For a concise and useful route description of the travels of Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing, see Tansen Sen, "The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing," *Education about Asia* 11, no. 3 (2006).

46. It is unclear what the original title of the work was (see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 15–18). For a full translation into German, see Deeg, op. cit.

47. For a translation into English, see Li Rongxi, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1996). Also, Xuanzang's biography, compiled by the seventh-century monks Huili 慧立 and Yancong 彥悰 , contains extensive information on Xuanzang's travels (*Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 , T.2053; for a translation into English, see Li Rongxi, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995)). On Xuanzang's life and biography, see, in particular, Mayer, *Xuanzang, Übersetzer und Heiliger* (the first volume of an ongoing series on Xuanzang's biography, carefully analysed and compared to its Old Turkic translation).

48. For a translation into English, see Li Rongxi, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia, A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000).

49. Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*.

50. Deeg, "Has Xuanzang really been in Mathurā? Interpretatio Sinica or Interpretatio Occidentalia – How to Critically read the Records of the Chinese Pilgrim?" in *Essays on East Asian Religion and Culture, Festschrift in Honour of Nishiwaki Tsuneki on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. Christian Wittern and Shi Lishan (Kyoto: Editorial Committee for the Festschrift in Honour of Nishiwaki Tsuneki, 2007), 37–38.

51. Deeg, "Has Xuanzang really been in Mathurā?"

52. He even complains that, in China, teachers and disciples alike do not seem to pay sufficient heed to the *vinaya* rules (T.2125, p.219b15–21). See also Wang Bangwei, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiao zhu* 南海寄歸內法傳校注 (Comments on *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009; first edition, 1995): 147–153; Heirman, "Indian Disciplinary Rules and Their Early Chinese Adepts," 266–267.

53. T.2125, pp.205c20–206a4, p.206a21–22. For details, see Ann Heirman, "Vinaya from India to China," 177–179; and "Abridged Teaching (*lüe jiao*): Monastic Rules between India and China," (forthcoming).

54. T.2125, p.205b28–c6.

55. On Yijing's study of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* in Nālandā, see Wang Bangwei, "Buddhist Nikāyas through Ancient Chinese Eyes," in *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur*, eds. Frank Bandurski et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 181–183.

56. For a meticulous study of the empress's endeavours and her dealings with influential monks such as Yijing, see Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1976). See also Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiao zhu*, 19–21. The empress searched eagerly for divine omens to enhance her power, going so far as to falsify texts to present her as a Buddhist saviour of China.

57. See Wang Bangwei, *Da Tang Xiyu qiu fa gaoseng zhuan jiao zhu* 大唐西域求法高僧傳校注 (Comments on *Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Great Tang who Went to the Western Regions in Search of the Law*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009; first edition, 1988), 262, and *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiao zhu*, 19; Tim H. Barrett, "Did I-ching go to India? Problems in Using I-ching as a Source for South Asian Buddhism," *Buddhist Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (1998): 155.

58. See Barrett, "Did I-ching go to India?" 147–156. See also note 56.

59. In this sense, his travel account is often similar to a normative text, presenting an (Indian) ideal as a kind of mirror for the Chinese public (for a discussion, see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 37–39; and "Was haben ein Mönch und Fisch gemeinsam? Monastische Regeln und

Lebensrealität und der Aussagewert chinesischen Pilerberichte," in *Im Dickicht der Gebote, Studien zur Dialektik von Norm und Praxis in der Buddhismusgeschichte Asiens*, eds. Peter Schalk et al. (Uppsala: Upssala Universitet, 2005), 101–103).

60. T.2125, p.219b2–11. In contrast to a male novice, a female novice has to undergo an additional training of two years as a probationer before being allowed to the full *bhikṣuṇī* ordination. This *vinaya* stipulation has in all probability rarely been applied in China. In the *vinaya*s, some rules apply explicitly to probationers. The rules mentioned by Yijing do no exactly correspond to any known *vinaya*. For details, see Ann Heirman, "Where is the Probationer in the Chinese Buddhist Nunneries?" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 158, no. 1 (2008).

61. Yijing states that the correct way to sit is with the feet on the ground, as he witnessed in India and as is stipulated in the *sūtra*s. It is an error to sit cross-legged, as one does in China (T.2125, pp.206c22–207a16). See Heirman, "Indian Disciplinary Rules and Their Early Chinese Adepts," 268–269. For a detailed study of the impact of Buddhism on the construction of chairs in China, see Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 222–249. On Chinese customary manners of sitting in the first centuries of the Common Era up to the Tang dynasty, see Albert E. Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 300–306.

62. This does not imply that other traditions did not write monastic guidelines. On the contrary, almost identical rules were compiled in, for instance, Tiantai monasteries, such as the guidelines compiled by the Tiantai master Zunshi 遵式 (964–1032) (described in Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 35–37). Still, from the Song dynasty on, *qing gui* rules were considered to be typically Chan. They prevailed in all large monastic institutes (Yifa, op. cit., 37–52).

63. This reliance on the *vinaya*s and on other early disciplinary texts has been analysed in detail by Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 3–98. See also Mario Poceski, "Xuefeng's Code and the Chan School's Participation in the Development of Monastic Regulations," *Asia Major, Third Series* 16, no. 2 (2003) and "*Guishan jingce* (*Guishan's Admonitions*) and the Ethical Foundations of Chan Practice," in *Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism*, eds. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Yifa, "From the Chinese Vinaya Tradition to Chan Regulations, Continuity and Adaptation," in *Going Forth, Visions of Buddhist Vinaya, Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein*, ed. William M. Bodiford (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 124–129.

64. Public monasteries are monasteries in which the abbacy is not passed down in a tonsure family. The tonsure disciples of the abbot were not even allowed to succeed him to the abbacy, so that a hereditary transmission was excluded. This kind of public monastery was favoured by the Song government in its policy towards monastic Buddhism. As a result, the abbacies operated under quite strict supervision of the state. Many of these monasteries belong to the Chan tradition. See T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, eds. Patricia B. Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 163–167; and a detailed study of Morten Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (920–1279)," in *Going Forth, Visions of Buddhist Vinaya, Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein*, ed. William M. Bodiford (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005).

65. For a discussion, see, among others, Martin Collcutt, "The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing-kuei* and the Shaping of the Ch'an Community life," in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, eds. Lewis R. Lancaster and Whalen Lai (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 171–173; Foulk, "Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," 156–159; Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 28–35; Poceski, "Xuefeng's Code," 33-41; Jia Jinhua, "The Cre-

ation and Codification of Monastic Regulations at Mount Baizhang," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 33 (2005).

66. Translated into English by Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 112–220.

67. For an introduction to and a translation of this text, see T. Griffith Foulk, '"Daily Life in the Assembly," in *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

68. For more on these texts, see, among others, Claudia Fritz, *Die Verwaltungsstruktur der Chan-Klöster in der späten Yuan-Zeit, Das 4. Buch der Chixiu Baizhang qinggui, übersetzt, annotiert und mit einer Einleitung versehen* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), 16–27; and Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 47–50. For a translation of the *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* into English, see Shohei Ichimura, *The Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2006).

69. For a discussion, see Kieschnick, "Buddhist Monasticism," 545–549, 573–574.

I. Bathing facilities

As one of the most common activities in monastic life, bathing is at the heart of many discussions about why and how to take care of the human body. In these discussions, the relationship between bathing and cleanliness usually comes to the fore. This is a less obvious connection than a modern reader might think, though. In his work on concepts of cleanliness in medieval France and beyond, for instance, Georges Vigarello describes how in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France, bathing (with water) was considered to be potentially dangerous since water was thought to open the pores of the body, exposing it to all manner of undesirable contagions.[1] This attitude started to change only in the eighteenth century. This does not mean, however, that the concept of cleanliness was totally absent in earlier times. On the contrary, cleanliness, achieved by wiping and rubbing, was discussed repeatedly in several French manuals. Consequently, while the use of water declined, the social pressure to remain clean – largely through care and attention to detail – increased.

A similar emphasis on cleanliness can equally be found in Indian and Chinese guidelines, but, contrary to early modern France, water was always a very important element in bathing routines. In France, as described by Vigarello, cleanliness was linked primarily to decency, rather than hygiene, and to good manners, rather than health.[2] This is echoed in the Buddhist monastic context. Although some documents, particularly Indian texts, describe a clear relation between bathing and health, bathing was not considered to be healthy for the skin, but rather because it was thought to alleviate some bodily ailments. The issue was not unhygienic dirt, but decency and respect. In France, the focus on decency prompted people to emphasize the visible parts of body (and clothing), always with minimum use of water. Buddhist monastics, on the other hand, did not limit the concept of cleanliness to those body parts that were visible to others; instead, they washed the whole body and advocated quite frequent bathing.

The above short comparison between early modern France and Buddhist India and China clearly shows that one should not take anything for granted based on one's preconceived views. While the focus on decency and social relations is a prominent feature in both early modern France and Buddhist India and China, the use of water is not. While French bathers concentrated almost exclusively on the visible parts of their bodies, in India and China the whole body was washed and bathing became a frequent and meticulously regulated activity in Buddhist monasteries. It is therefore not surprising that the *vinaya*s contain comprehensive guidelines on bathing practices and techniques. These reveal the perceived ideal setting of a bathhouse in a monastic compound as well as the many routines that should be followed and the utensils that should be used during bathing.

As we will see in the first part of this chapter, *vinaya* guidelines exhibit a deep concern for cleanliness, health (of the body), respect and decorum. When this wealth of information was translated in Chinese, it entered a new environment. In the Chinese monastic context, commentaries and newly compiled guidelines again paid special attention to bathing practices. While placing less emphasis on health, and more on cleanliness and purity, Chinese masters define an ideal normative standard and present it to monastic and lay publics alike, outlining building techniques and useful utensils for a Chinese monastic bathhouse. Any lay person who considered becoming a monastic would have been familiar with this ideal, at least in theory. Moreover, any lay person from a rather elite family would already have experienced something very similar to the monastic standard. Indeed, there were many similarities between the daily reality of monastic and lay bathing practice, and this was the context in which monastic masters strove to create a Buddhist identity.

1. Bathing practices in *vinaya* texts

As can be seen in the rules of the *prātimokṣa* dealing with bathing habits, and in various chapters of this *vinaya* that detail with bathing practices, bathing is one of the most important aspects of bodily care in a monastic community. Two major types of bathing are discussed: bathing in a river or a pool; and using a bathhouse within the monastic compound itself – a practice that probably became more popular once larger monasteries were built.

Bathing – along with many other monastic activities – features in the complex disciplinary framework of Buddhist monasteries. For instance, *pācittika*[3] rule fifty-six of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* allows monastics to bathe once every fortnight.[4] The introductory story relates how monks were given permission by the king to bathe in his pool.[5] The monks bathed for many hours, often long into the night, using fine medicinal powder (*xi mo yao* 細末藥).[6] They therefore prevented the king and his female attendants from using the pool. Some ministers complained about this, and as a result a new rule was laid down. Although the story does not seem to be directly connected to the rule it introduces, it still highlights several essential topics: bathing is an accepted practice for everyone; and it is linked to beauty and even to sexual activity, certainly among lay people, such as the king. This link to sexuality is to be avoided in a monastic context, which, as we will see later, is a theme of other regulations. Furthermore, it is clear from the story that one can bathe in a pool, and that the use of medicinal powder is quite common.

The rule itself, allowing a bimonthly bath, is presumably an attempt to prevent monks from bathing too often, as this could be considered an act of vanity.[7] One should not bathe in order to be beautiful, but because bathing is a means to stay clean and healthy. As such, it forms part of the demanded decorum of the monastic community. This becomes obvious when we look at all the exceptions to the rule: monastics may bathe more often when it is very hot; when they are travelling; or because of

illness, work, or bad weather. Obviously, one may become filthy in all of these circumstances, so extra washing might be necessary. The *vinaya* further warns that people become ill and develop blisters (*pao fei* 疱疿) as a result of prickly heat during the hottest time of the year (the last forty-five days of spring and the first month of summer).[8] The body emits dirt and filth. Work, including sweeping the floor, and travelling, even over a small distance, such as half of a *yojana*,[9] make one feel dirty, sweaty and in need of a bath.

The above exceptions clarify the basic reasons for bathing: it is necessary to maintain cleanliness, hygiene and health.[10] One point of caution, though: bathing is promoted for two discrete reasons that are not causally connected, but just happen to occur simultaneously. On the one hand, bathing is said to preserve or even improve health by counteracting the summer heat that makes people ill. On the other hand, bathing is recommended because dirt and filth can lead to a loss of decorum. Dirt and filth are therefore not considered to be unhealthy in themselves. They are just signs of uncleanliness, and therefore inappropriate for a member of a monastic community.

The above rule indicates that the *saṃgha* considers cleanliness and health to be of paramount importance. As will we see, this message was spread to both *saṃgha* members and the outside, lay, world. Any sign of filth had to be carefully avoided, and failure to do so automatically caused a loss of decorum. In this context, the *saṃgha* sought to safeguard its name and fame by drawing up several guidelines on proper conduct relating to cleanliness. That is why the *Dharmaguptaka*vinaya states, for instance, that a monk should never grasp a drinking vessel with a soiled hand.[11] Even more embarrassing is the shameful situation of a nun who soils herself, her clothes or her seat with menstrual blood. For protection, she should cover herself with a cloth for menses. When at the house of a lay donor, she should inform the donor of her condition, and take a seat only if she receives permission to do so.[12]

Given that bathing was allowed and even strongly recommended, provision of bathing facilities obviously became a priority. These were described in great detail. In addition to the well-regulated practice of using a bathhouse inside the monastic compound, the *vinaya* allows bathing in more public places, such as rivers and pools.[13] The latter practice, however, involves some risks, especially for women. The latter are more vulnerable than men, and definitely need to maintain a high standard of bodily control.[14] It is therefore not surprising that most *vinaya*s contain a rule stating that a *bhikṣuṇī* should not bathe naked.[15] In the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, p.749a6–7), this reads as follows: 'If a *bhikṣuṇī* bathes naked in a river, in a spring, in an embanked river, or in a pool, she commits a *pācittika*.'[16] The introductory story (pp.748c14–749a6) relates why this practice constitutes an offence: some young nuns are observed by women thieves and prostitutes, who incite them to enjoy the sexual pleasures of lay life. Other lay people reproach the nuns, stating that they have no sense of shame. Thereupon, the Buddha forbids nuns to bathe naked in public places. Still, 'not naked' does not imply that one has to wear a robe. As pointed out in the Dharmaguptaka comment on the rule (p.749a7–10), one has four options for

concealing oneself: one can stand on the bank at a curve in the river; in a place concealed by the shadow of trees; in any place that is well screened; or one can cover oneself with a robe.[17] The dimensions of this bathing robe (*yu yi* 浴衣)[18] are addressed in another *pācittika* rule:[19]

If a *bhikṣuṇī* makes a bathing robe, she must make it to the [proper] measures. 'She must make it to the [proper] measures' refers to six hand spans[20] of the Buddha length-wise and two spans and a half width-wise. If she goes beyond it, she commits a *pācittika*.

The commentary on the rule says that, in such a case, a monk equally commits a *pācittika*. However, since the *bhikṣuprātimokṣa* ('rules for monks') does not contain a *pācittika* rule on the proper dimensions of a bathing robe for monks, the latter cross-reference cannot be traced. Still, monks have access to a robe that is very similar to a bathing robe and has exactly the same dimensions. This is called a rain robe (*yu yu yi* 雨浴衣),[21] and it is worn on very rainy days. It is mentioned in two rules for monks. The introductory story to the first rule, *niḥsargika-pācittika*[22] 27 (T.1428, pp.628c24–630b27), relates how some monks bathed naked in heavy rain. When a rich lay woman hears about this, she offers rainwear (*yu yu yi* 雨浴衣) to the monks so that they never again have to walk around naked during the rainy season. To the nuns, she offers bathing robes (*yu yi* 浴衣, p.629b25–26). Yet, a little later in the text, it is said that the nuns receive rain robes (*yu yu yi* 雨浴衣, p.629c25–28) in much the same way as the monks do. *Pācittika* 89 (T.1428, p.695a9–b14) also mentions the monks' rain robe. It stipulates the robe's correct dimensions, which equate to the dimensions of the nuns' bathing robes. The rule adds that a *bhikṣuṇī* commits a *duṣkṛta* if she goes beyond the proper dimensions of a rain robe.

The above rules indicate that there is some confusion about rain robes and bathing robes. This is understandable, since they have similar dimensions and are used to cover monastics who are confronted with water. Both are also linked to bathing in *public* places, a fact that seems to be quite important, as no robe is mentioned for bathing in a monastic bathhouse. A robe be used only outside the monastery and in certain specific circumstances. Its essential function is to cover nakedness, so as to avoid shameful or embarrassing situations. A monastic community obviously has to display exemplary behaviour and should live up to its own high standards. Nakedness, which is often linked to sexual attraction, does not fit into this picture.[23]

When summarizing the reasons for the above *prātimokṣa* rules, it becomes clear that they are motivated by a deep respect for cleanliness, hygiene, health and decorum. The same motives are highlighted in other chapters of the *vinaya*, too. In addition, as we will see, these chapters tend to focus on bathing facilities inside the monastic compound, thus providing the reader with a wealth of detail.

1.1. Bathing facilities in the monastic compound

According to the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, it was mainly for health reasons that the Buddha allowed monks to build a bathhouse and take a bath (T.1428, p.958b26–c9). Again, the problem was not filth but rather an unpleasant phenomenon that can be solved by taking a bath: namely, discomfort caused by excessive food consumption. The text relates how some monks did not feel well after eating sumptuous food. The Buddha proposed several medical treatments, such as taking vomiting medicine, eating congee (*zhou* 粥) and eating a kind of soup prepared with the meat of a wild bird.[24] The famous physician Jīvaka prepared these treatments,[25] but none of them proved sufficient. Thereupon, Jīvaka asked the Buddha to allow the monks to bathe in a bathhouse (*yushi* 浴室) in order to alleviate their illness, and the Buddha agreed.[26]

The *vinaya* further explains how to make such a bathhouse (T.1428, p.942a1–b22). It could be square, round or octagonal. It should not be built right in front of a living place, but rather in a screened-off corner, which seems to indicate that bathing was seen as a private affair. For this reason, it is also forbidden to bathe together with lay people.[27] (Nevertheless, as we will see later, all descriptions clearly reveal that bathing is also a group activity, with several monks bathing together.) The bathhouse should have a door to keep out cold air, a hole in the roof to allow smoke and steam to escape, and a window to let some light into the room. In order that monks do not trample in mud, there should be seats made out of stones, bricks or wood.[28] Further, to keep their feet clean, the floor should be paved with stone or brick steps.[29] If the wood (used for building) is decaying, it must be repaired. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* also indicates that discussions occasionally arose on whether the door should be left open or closed. For some, the bathhouse was too hot; for others, it was too cold. This shows that the temperature might have been quite high inside the bathhouse. One could also reduce the room temperature by scattering around some water. Further discussions arose about the best places to sit. Not surprisingly, the Buddha decides that priority has to be given to the abbot and senior monks.

As can be seen from the above description, a bathhouse is heated by a fire. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* allows one to cover one's face in order to protect it from the smoke. One can also cover one's head and back to protect them from the heat. A fragrant mud is used to wash oneself and remove any bad odours.

A practical problem is where to put one's clothes while bathing. If left outside, rain could ruin them. The Buddha therefore allows monks to fold up their clothes and put them on a wall or a clothes-hanger. However, the smoke inside the bathhouse could prove a problem here. Therefore, the Buddha suggests building a room specifically for the clothes. Inside the central part of the bathhouse, the monks seem to be completely naked.[30] The *vinaya* warns, however, that nakedness has the potential to arouse sexual feelings, which is why some restrictions are imposed on wiping a fellow monk's body or shaving his hair.[31] These activities are forbidden when naked. Oddly,

the only exception is that a dressed man may wipe the body of a naked man.[32] When naked, it is forbidden to clean one's teeth, eat, go to the toilet, or wash one's hands, feet or face. The rationale behind this might be that it is not necessary to be naked for any of these activities. In other words, nakedness should be minimized. It is seen as an unwanted, even shameful, state. Nakedness can lead to a loss of respect or self-respect, as can be deduced from the fact that the Buddha stipulates that a naked man should never greet anyone or receive a greeting. He should instead make himself as invisible as possible. Given this, it is entirely understandable that monks feel terribly ashamed when, while naked, they collect water from a well and are unexpectedly noticed by lay women (T.1428, p.942b9–10).

Finally, water is seen as essential for a bathhouse. If the water source lies relatively far away, it is advised to dig a ditch or sink a well. Monks are also permitted to use a well sweep (*jiegao* 桔槔).[33] Earthenware jars can be used to store water. In order to avoid one's clothes being soaked by rain when working at the well, a room with a roof can be built above it. In addition, the water should be heated somewhere that is protected from the rain, and there should be a dry storage room for firewood. The warm-water room is called *wen shui shi* 溫水室, 'room for heating up water'. This might be the same room as the *wenshi* 溫室, 'heating room' or 'hot room', a place that is regularly mentioned in several sources – together with the kitchen and the bathhouse – as a place where fire is made.[34]

1.2. Assisting a teacher in the bathhouse

A very instructive passage on bathing practices can be found in a chapter of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* that describes how a disciple helps his teacher (*heshang* 和尚, *upādhyāya*) go to the bathhouse (T.1428, pp.802c3-803a12). Since the disciple assists his old teacher in many activities, we get a detailed picture of what is possible in a well-equipped monastery. At the time of bathing, the disciple should first check the floor of the bathhouse. Any grass or dust is to be swept away, and some water should be sprinkled on the floor. Any filthy water should be removed, while fresh water, firewood and a kind of stove need to be available. The teacher should be provided with a water bottle for use in the hot room, and with a seat. Other products used when washing also need to be readily to hand, such as a scraping knife and vessels for water, mud and bath beans (*zao dou* 澡豆).[35] The disciple informs his teacher when everything is in order. If the teacher is too old or too sick to enter the bathhouse alone, the disciple should assist him, even if the master has to be carried in on a bed.

First, one goes to the hot room (*wenshi* 溫室), where one removes one's clothes. If available, these are put on a clothes-hanger in the bathhouse (*yushi* 浴室).[36] One is then allowed to rub oneself with oil, obtained from containers that hang on hooks. If the master is too weak to wash himself alone, he should be helped into the bathing room (*yushi* 浴室). The disciple helps him to sit down on a seat and provides any necessary assistance with the washing utensils: water bottle, water vessel, scraping knife, mud, bath beans, and cloths to protect the face and to cover the head and the

back. The disciple can rub the body of the master while standing behind him. Priority is always given to the teacher. If the disciple wants to massage someone else's body, or receive a massage, he should first inform his teacher. Finally, the teacher should be helped to leave the bathing room.

After bathing, one should sit down and wipe the body, the face and the eyes with some cloths. The disciple helps the teacher to wash his feet with water, utilizing a stone footstool and a cloth to wipe the feet. Then the disciple hands his master clean shoes, unfolds his clothes and helps him to dress. If available, eye medicine and some small perfumed balls might also be dispensed. Also, some honey might be offered. The master should then be returned to his room, and all utensils stored properly.[37] Finally, the bathing place should be cleaned and the fire extinguished.[38]

When analysing the above data, it becomes clear that the difference between a hot room (*wenshi* 溫室) and a bathing room or bathhouse (*yushi* 浴室) is hard to determine. In some contexts, these places certainly seem to be separate rooms, for instance when they are listed alongside kitchens as places where fires are made. In other passages, though, they seem to refer to a single building. This is the case when the *vinaya* says that clothes are removed in the *hot room* and placed on a hanger in the *bathing room*. Even here, however, the text might be describing two closely connected but separate areas: the master first enters the hot room to remove his clothes and only then enters the bathing room. Whatever the case, a hypothetical picture can be drawn. Water is heated up in the hot room, which will make that room quite warm, allowing one to dress and undress there. One can also rub oneself with oil there, if it is available. In the bathing area, one washes oneself, while seated, using a bottle and vessels containing the warmed water. This indicates that one does not submerge oneself in water, but probably sprinkles water on the body. This room will almost certainly be very hot and humid, making sweating inevitable. While bathing in this way, several utensils and other items can be used, such as a scraping knife, fragrant mud, bath beans, and cloths to protect the face, the head and the back from the heat. Mutual massage also seems to be common. After bathing, one continues to take care of the body, probably in the hot room, near to one's clothes, which had been folded up or put on a hanger.

Indian monastic texts promote bathing for reasons of cleanliness, hygiene, health and decorum. Any sexual act or physical pleasure must be sanctioned, while any potentially shameful situation must be carefully avoided. Respect for others, and particularly for seniority, is highlighted. Eventually, these customs travelled to China, along with monks and lay disciples who ventured along the long road to the east.

1.3. *Sūtra On Bathing Monks in the Bathhouse*

Before we discuss the introduction of the Indian customs to China, and Chinese masters' reactions to them, one more text merits a closer look: the *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* 溫室洗浴眾僧經, *Sūtra On Bathing Monks in the Bathhouse* (T.701). In

several early Chinese catalogues, the text is said to be a translation, commonly attributed to An Shigao (mid-second century CE). However, the text is probably of a later date.[39] The *sūtra* contains a story told by Ānanda, one of the closest disciples of the Buddha. Ānanda relates how the famous physician Jīvaka wanted to meet the Buddha when both of them stayed in Magadha. Jīvaka explains to the Buddha that while he has helped many people through his medical knowledge, he has not yet attained *fu* 福 , 'karmic merit'. He therefore asks the Buddha and all his disciples to enter the bathhouse and wash themselves. Although not mentioned explicitly in the story, Jīvaka presumably had this bathhouse built for the community. He wants all living beings to be clean (*qing jing* 清淨) and to remove all dirt in the expectation that this will avert all kinds of disaster (*huan* 患). The Buddha agrees and explains to Jīvaka all the benefits of bathing, and the meritorious karma accruing to those who bestow bathhouses. Washing involves seven objects, eliminates seven illnesses, and has seven benefits. The seven objects are: fuel, pure water, bath beans, revival ointment (*su gao* 蘇膏),[40] pure ashes (*chun hui* 淳灰),[41] tooth wood (*yang zhi* 楊枝)[42] and underwear (*xia yi* 下衣). Bathing pacifies the four elements (earth, water, fire and wind)[43] and eliminates 'wind disease' (*feng bing* 風病),[44] 'damp impediment' (*shi bi* 濕痺),[45] and diseases of 'cold' (*han bing* 寒冰),[46] 'heat' (*re qi* 熱氣)[47] and 'dirt' (*gou hui* 垢穢).[48] Finally, the body becomes light and the eyes sharp. The Buddha further enumerates the benefits of donating a bathhouse to monastics and *bodhisattva*s. To sum up, all will be at peace. One will be healthy, pure (*qing jing* 清淨), upright (*duan zheng* 端正) and respected by all. Clothing, wealth and jewellery materialize, and all anxiety ceases. Everyone donating a bathhouse will reap immeasurable karmic merit. Using verses, the Buddha praises cleanliness, purity, health and strength, directly linked to a wealthy life and unparalleled karma for all lay donors.

The *Sūtra On Bathing Monks in the Bathhouse* lists the essential objects of a bathhouse but does not provide many details about their use. More details are given on the treatment of diseases and on bodily hygiene. Bathing is directly linked to strength, health and medical care, and to the treatment of a number of diseases. Contrary to other normative texts, the text not only promotes bathing as beneficial to health but outlines a causal connection between 'dirt' and 'illness'. It is therefore not surprising that the story is connected to the renowned figure of Jīvaka, personal physician to the kings of Magadha. In addition to this medical information, the short *sūtra* describes the ideal attitude of monastic and lay people towards bathing. It links external cleanliness to internal purity and repeatedly states that it is crucial for obtaining respect and veneration. A clean and shining body is seen as a sign of great virtue, and the terminology used to express cleanliness can refer equally well to outward or inward appearance. One who is *qing jing* 清淨 has removed all external dirt *and* is internally pure. A *duan zheng* 端正 person is beautiful and upright.

As a result, the pressure on lay people, and even more so on monastics, to bathe and remain perfectly clean is understandably very high. Lay people helping to achieve this ideal monastic goal reap immeasurable karmic return. Since outward appearance is directly linked to internal purity and to an upright way of life, which enhances the

dissemination of karmic merit, donations have a cumulative effect: the cleaner the monastic community, the purer it is, and the more beneficial the karmic return is for lay donors. It is a perfect virtuous circle.

Such a close connection between the outward nature of the body and morality is quite traditional in Buddhism. As shown in a recent study by Suzanne Mrozik, the physical shape of the body functions as a marker of ethical development. In this sense, one can truly speak of 'virtuous bodies', often also marked by social status, such as a wealthy family or a high religious position.[49] When living beings come into contact with such a virtuous religious body – of the Buddha, of a *bodhisattva* or of a member of the monastic community – they are transformed for the better, both physically and morally.[50] Mrozik describes this discourse as 'physiomoral',[51] and clearly the *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* is familiar with it.

2. Bathing facilities in Chinese *vinaya* commentaries and disciplinary guidelines

From the beginning of the fifth century, Chinese Buddhist masters were able to consult a wealth of *vinaya* material through the translation of four full *vinaya*s. This triggered the compilation of many commentaries and disciplinary guidelines. In addition, some daring monks travelled all the way to India in search of even more knowledge in the homeland of the Buddha.

2.1. Practical rules on how to make and use bathing facilities

One of the most influential Chinese disciplinary guidelines was the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀, *Great (Sūtra) of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*, probably compiled in China in the fifth century.[52] Among its many stipulations relating to daily monastic life, the text contains a relatively long exposition on how to behave in a bathhouse. This behaviour is outlined in twenty-five stipulations (T.1470, pp.918c15–29). The text starts by saying that one should lower one's face when entering the bathhouse (1). When sitting down, one should always respect hierarchy (2). During the reading of *sūtra*s, one should not utter frivolous words (3). At donation[53] time, one should not wash with water (4). One should not make use of 'daily water' (*ri shui* 日水), which could mean rainwater (5). One should not pour water on the fire (6), or blow into the fire (7). One should not use too much water (8). In the bathhouse, one should not wash one's hands, towels or clothes (9). After washing, one should leave immediately (10). One should not bathe with a teacher or with one of the elders responsible for conducting the ordination ceremony;[54] instead, one should wait outside until they have finished (11, 12, 13). When leaving, one should change one's clothes and wash the bathing towel (14). One should always report that one is taking a bath (15). One should use oil, mud, bath beans,[55] ashes, warm and cold water (16, 17, 18, 19, 20). One should recite *sūtra* scriptures (21).

One should bring water to the bathhouse (22). One should not stand in front of the abbot (23). One should venerate the donors continuously (24).[56] And, finally, when leaving, one should not stay in the wind (25).[57]

The *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* is deeply concerned with decorum and decency. The practice of bathing is associated with feelings of humility and even shame. Consequently, one should look down when entering a bathhouse. Although the text seems to indicate that one should not bathe completely naked, but rather use some kind of bathing cloth, bathing should not be conducted alongside others. Respect should especially be shown to elders and masters by not exposing oneself to them or, equally, watching them bathe. Exposure of the body might result in a loss of respect or self-respect. One should thus bathe in relative isolation while maintaining respect for others, avoiding idle talk and concentrating on Buddhist teachings. The intention here is presumably to prevent monks from being distracted and having frivolous thoughts. Furthermore, it is considered good practice to have someone read *sūtra*s aloud while others bathe. The *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* also demands that water should be used sparingly. It is precious and should not be spilled. Moreover, one should not strive for personal comfort by attempting to change the conditions of the bathhouse, or by bathing longer than is necessary. Instead, one should leave as soon as one has finished washing and then avoid standing in the wind, which might point to some concern with the monks' health.

The *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*'s focus on decorum and decency attracted the attention of Daoist authors, especially of the compiler of the seventh-century *Shenren shuo sanyuan weiyi guanxing jing* 神人說三元威儀觀行經, *Scripture of Behavioural Observation Based on the Dignified Observances of the Three Primes Revealed by the Spirit Man*, who copied the twenty-five guidelines almost in their entirety.[58] This was not unusual: Daoist authors who discussed bathing practices and/or bodily care often relied on their Buddhist predecessors, although they tended to increase the emphasis on physical and spiritual purity.[59] The seventh-century *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始, *Practical Introduction to the Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao of the Three Caverns Contained in the Mystery Cavern of Numinous Treasure* (DZ 1125, fasc. 760–761),[60] for instance, prescribes that all Daoist institutions should be built near running water, with both toilet facilities and a bathhouse near by (3.9b). While bathing, one cleans oneself inside and out. One washes away violations and defilements, sweat and dirt.[61] It could not be expressed any more clearly: cleanliness and inner purity are inextricably linked. The bathhouse has to be built in a separate building just outside the main compound (1.16a).[62] Once inside, one should prepare all the necessary utensils for carrying and heating water, as well as fragrances and powders. Bathing is essential to prepare for a ceremony or to cleanse oneself after hard work. The *Dongxuan lingbao qianzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶千真科, *Rules for a Thousand Perfected, Contained in the Mystery Cavern of Numinous Treasure* (DZ 1410, fasc. 1052), which also dates from the seventh century,[63] adds that baths with hot and fragrant water need to be taken once every ten days, at least during winter (14b–15a).[64] Nakedness is to be avoided at all times, and

women and men should be kept strictly separate. Furthermore, monastics should not bathe with lay people.

In summary, while some attention is paid to cleanliness, decency and decorum, it is purity that clearly lies at the heart of Daoist guidelines on bathing. This is stressed most emphatically in another seventh-century Daoist text, the *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* 洞玄靈寶道學科儀 , *Rules and Observances for Students of the Dao, Contained in the Mystery Cavern of Numinous Treasure* (DZ 1126, fasc. 761, 1.13a–14b),[65] which declares that the body should be kept clean, just as the mind needs to be pure (1.13b).[66] The *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* also demands respect for hierarchy when entering a bathhouse (14b).[67]

2.2. *Bathing facilities for Chinese vinaya masters*

With the translation of the *vinaya*s, many aspects of bathing were introduced to China. Several themes came to the fore, such as health, cleanliness, decorum, respect for elders and, albeit to a lesser extent, purity. As we will see, Chinese *vinaya* masters tend to focus on the same themes, although their eventual impact varies. This is not surprising. First, Chinese masters all relied extensively on Indian *vinaya*s, which were viewed as the words of the Buddha. Second, they shared the same concerns as leading Indian monks: Chinese masters had to organize a large monastic community and define a place for it in the surrounding lay world. In this context, one of the most respected and quoted masters is the monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), who comments extensively on all of the *vinaya*s but focuses on the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*. In his most renowned commentary, the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, *A Transcription of Abridged Revisions in the Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1804), Daoxuan discusses the *prātimokṣa* rules and formulates guidelines on the use of a bathing cloth when bathing outside (T.1804, p.73b7–c2) and on the frequency of bathing (pp.85c20–86a10). In the latter passage, he underscores the ban on bathing with lay people in order to avoid embarrassing situations. Interestingly, he also clarifies the correct way to announce the time for bathing, as described in the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.509a17–20). Although the *vinaya* does not give details on how this signal should be made, Daoxuan interprets it as a blow on a wooden board, a practice that is common in Chinese monasteries.[68] In another passage (T.1804, p.126c20–27), Daoxuan further discusses the advantages of bathing: it is good for one's health and helps to overcome diseases. One can wash away dirt, and one obtains a good-looking body. Daoxuan cautions, however, that vanity is not permitted.

In addition to his commentaries on the *vinaya*, Daoxuan wrote extensively on how to develop Chinese monastic institutes. To this end, he collected as much material as he could on the Indian monastic system, and studied the work of monks such as Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 596–664) and others who had travelled to the western regions and the South Seas.[69] As far as he was concerned, the most symbolic Indian monastery was Jetavana, where the Buddha spent many years and preached several of his

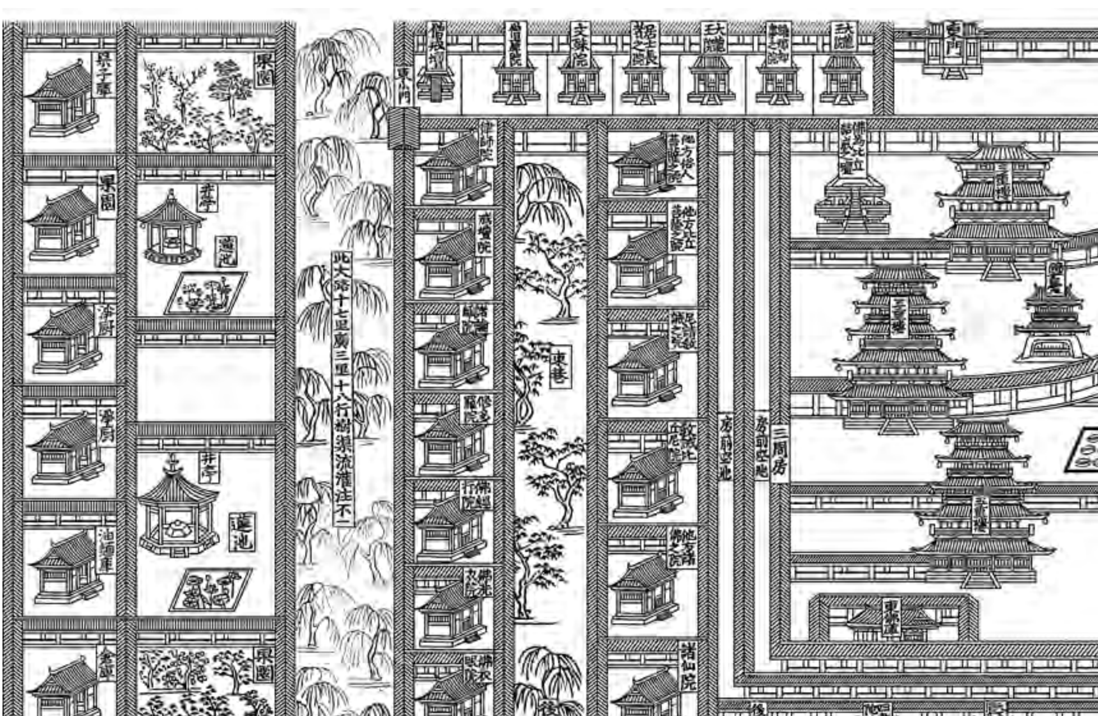
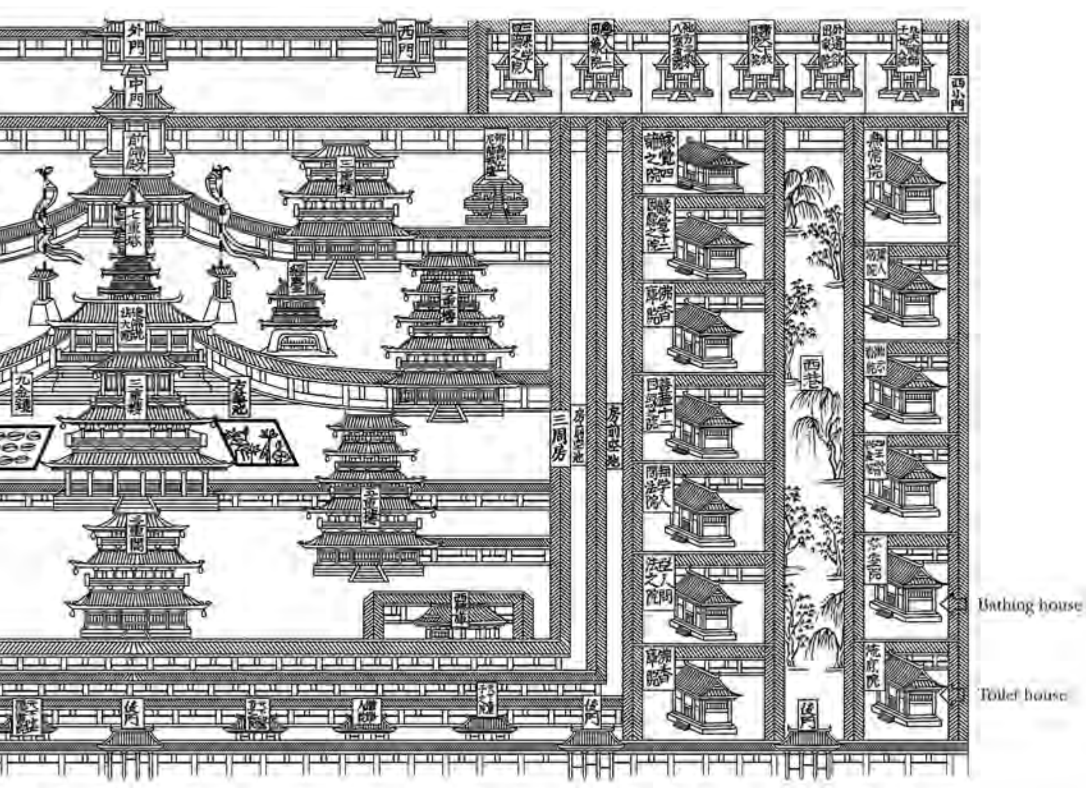


Figure 1. Diagram of Daoxuan's ideal monastery,
After Stephen F. Teiser, *Reinventing the Wheel, Paintings of Rebirth in Medieval Buddhist Temples* (Seattle: University



based on a vision of the Jetavana monastery
of Washington Press, 2006), 138-139, drawn by Sorat Tungkasiri and Stephen F. Teiser after T.1892, pp.812-813

scriptures. In the last year of his life, Daoxuan recorded a series of revelations relating to the Jetavana monastery in his *Zhong Tianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuansi tu jing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經, *Diagram and Sūtra on the Jetavana Temple of Vaiśālī in Central India* (T.1899).[70] He then used this text as the basis for a description of his vision of the ideal monastery, preserved in a text entitled *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tu jing* 關中創立戒壇圖經, *Diagram and Sūtra on the Ordination Platform Within the Passes* (T.1892). The diagram of Daoxuan's ideal monastery includes a bathhouse (*yushi yuan* 浴室院) and a toilet house (*liu ce yuan* 流廁院), both situated in the western part of the compound.[71]

As can be seen from his writings and commentaries, Daoxuan was greatly concerned with the future of the monastic community. In order to organize and shape the Chinese *saṃgha* as he believed it should be, he compiled guidelines to be followed by all monastics. Newcomers would have to undergo intensive training to ensure correct behaviour. In this context, Daoxuan comments extensively on a variety of daily activities in his manual entitled *Jiaojie xin xue biqiu xing hu lu yi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀, *To Explain to Young Monks How to Protect the Vinaya Rules* (T.1897). Not surprisingly, given the many aspects of decorum involved, bathing is one of the topics he addresses (p.873a20–b3). He lists sixteen stipulations to be followed when entering bathing facilities (lit. 'hot room', *wenshi* 溫室) that provide a picture of an ideal bathing process. When going to the bathing facilities, one should bring along something on which to sit and a water jug. One should bow before accepting this jug and hold it in a decent way (that is, without the hands hanging down). There are several rooms: in the first, one takes off one's outer robe. In the bathhouse (*yushi* 浴室) itself, one takes off one's clothes and puts them on a hanger. There are seats and a tub containing hot water in this room. This might point to the fact that monks bathed in a traditional Chinese way – sitting around a water basin. In any case, one should never soil the hot water. If one's hands are dirty, one should clean them with water from the jug. One washes oneself with bath beans and a moist towel, which one holds at both ends. One should rub the towel horizontally on the back, while washing upwards to remove any dirt. When finished, one should clean one's seat with hot water (from the tub). The whole bathing process must be conducted in a dignified manner. Young monks should always bathe after the elders, and never with anyone who is more than five years their senior. One should never relieve oneself in the bathhouse (one should visit the toilet before entering), never spit, never blow one's nose and never laugh. Bathing should be performed in silence, with dignity and respect.

2.3. *Bathing practices in Yijing's travel account*

The monk Yijing 義淨 (635–713) also provides valuable information on many aspects of daily life. It remains difficult to determine which data he merely extracted from other sources and indeed the extent to which he idealized the topics he discussed. Nevertheless, his writings offer a glimpse of an ideal bathing environment. His most extensive data are contained in his travel account, the *Nanhai jigui neifa*

zhuan 南海寄歸內法傳, *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas* (T.2125), in which he devotes a full chapter to bathing practices (T.2125, pp.220c4–221a6). After praising the habit of Indian people to wash frequently in bathing ponds containing clear rainwater, he says that more than ten such pools are available for the use of monks in the Nālandā monastery.[72] They bathe every day, always while wearing a bathing skirt (*yu qun* 浴裙) to cover their nakedness. Yijing shows his concern for adoption of the correct ascetic attitude when he recommends that, when leaving the water, the bather should always shake his body so that no insects cling to the skirt and are thus removed from the pond. In addition to bathing in a monastic pool, one can take a bath in a bathhouse, which should be built as the *vinaya* prescribes.[73] Yijing emphasizes that one should always cover oneself with a bathing cloth in the bathhouse, a guideline that is in accordance with a remark he makes on the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (see below). In this way, he says, one avoids shame in the presence of both men and heavenly beings. In order to maintain clear eyesight and ward off the cold, one should use oil frequently during bathing.[74] Yijing also recommends never bathing immediately after eating. Rather, he says that a meal should be taken after a bath, when the body is clean and empty. Post-bathing, one has no phlegm and one feels good and hungry. By contrast, eating before a bath goes against all medical advice.[75]

More information on bathing practices to the west of China is given in a personal note that Yijing attached to his translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.219b27–c5). After outlining a few detailed building techniques,[76] he mentions the construction of a small niche for a stone or a bronze image that is regularly washed and to which one should pay honour. This small effort will result in infinite happiness. In the note, Yijing also describes a few practical aspects of an Indian monastic bathhouse, notably the use of lamps and the construction of a sunken stove in which coal or wood is burned.[77] After some time in the bathhouse, when the bather has started to sweat, they should spread oil on their body. (Later, they should employ someone else to wipe it away.) This application of oil will cure a variety of illnesses. One is permitted to bathe as often as necessary. Contrary to the description given by the *vinaya*s, Yijing states that one should always wear a bathing cloth, even in the bathhouse. And he reiterates that one should not bathe after eating, which he says is a common practice in China, but before.[78]

In his account of bathing practices, Yijing draws his readers' attention to several points that are present in the *vinaya* texts and on which he relies extensively: in addition to the constant concern for cleanliness, one should take care of one's health and always cover one's nakedness. These are important aspects of exemplary behaviour. His concern for concealing nakedness goes beyond that exhibited in the *vinaya* texts, revealing a tendency towards asceticism. More than other Chinese masters had done before him, Yijing also connects bathing practices to health issues. However, in an echo of most Indian texts, he does not suggest that simple removal of dirt is beneficial to health, but rather that bathing is an efficient remedy for certain diseases.

3. A new genre develops: *qing gui* 清規, 'rules of purity'

The Song dynasty saw the development of many new compilations of guidelines for Chinese public monasteries, many of which belonged to Chan lineages. Chan masters were not the only ones to compile new manuals, however, and one of the most influential compilations was written by a Tiantai monk, Zunshi 遵式 (964–1032), who outlines many of the organizational aspects of his monastery. He describes its bathing activity in his *Tianzhu bieji* 天竺別集, *A Compilation for the Tianzhu Monastery* under the heading 'Ten Things to Know When Entering the Bathhouse', *Fan ru yushi lüezhi shishi* 凡入浴室略知十事 (W 101, pp.310b7–311a17). The bather enters the bathhouse through a door and then slowly lifts a curtain (presumably hanging in front of the door). Once inside, respect for etiquette is paramount, with special attention paid to elders. Only fully ordained monks can bathe together. Others should not participate. The bather's clothes must be hung on hangers (never on partition walls), with the outer and inner clothes separated, as the latter are seen as lower in status.[79] Since the text states that the bather must not generate too much dust when drying clothes close to a stove, we can assume that this practice was common. Everyday clothes and shoes are not to be worn while washing. Instead, the bather wears special bathing shoes and covers himself with a towel while seated at the bathtub, which is filled with hot water. Covering one's nakedness is seen as a sign of decency, as is remaining as quiet as possible by not speaking, laughing or coughing. All bathing activities have to be carried out with due respect for others and for the community as a whole. Contrary to earlier texts, touching or rubbing others is forbidden. Instead, the bather should rub his own back with a kind of 'wooden hand' (*mushou* 木手)[80] or a towel, which he holds at both ends. It is important not to let the towel drip in the tub. Equally, clothes may not be washed in the bathtub. To wash one's feet and the lower part of the body, one holds a ladle (*shao* 杓)[81] in one hand while cleaning and rubbing with the other. Thereafter, the bather should pour water two or three times and clean the hand that was used. Only then should they hand the ladle to someone else. This focus on cleanliness and respect is also apparent in the rules on the use of ashes and soap. Bathers should never leave them lying around, and they should avoid any pollution of the water in the bathtub. Ashes are collected with a ladle. Finally, when rising from his seat, the bather should wrap a towel around himself. Again, nakedness must be avoided. This must also be observed when entering or leaving the bathhouse: one should always cover one's body properly.

The above rules display a deep respect for decency and cleanliness. Nakedness is banned, as is all physical contact, including rubbing a fellow bather (in marked contrast to some earlier guidelines). Consequently, bathing becomes even more of an individual activity. The guidelines also reveal some important aspects of bathing facilities and washing utensils. Since the first guideline says that one must lift the curtain slowly to avoid creating a draught, we must assume that the door of the bathhouse was routinely covered with a curtain. Reinforcing this assumption is the eighth

rule, which states that the curtain should be raised silently. The guidelines also reveal that a bathhouse contains a bathtub and seats, and that the bathers cover themselves with towels. There is no reference to bathing skirts. Instead, all clothes are removed, put on hangers and possibly dried next to a stove. The bathers wash themselves with hot water, some sort of soap and ashes that are applied with the help of a ladle. They rub themselves with a towel or a 'wooden hand', and they never enter the bathtub.

The *Tianzhu bieji* was a source of inspiration for the so-called 'rules of purity', *qing gui* 清規 , many of which developed during the Song dynasty. These rules generally focus on the organization of various aspects of the daily routine of large monasteries. The oldest extant code is the *Chanyuan qing gui* 禪苑清規 , *The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, compiled by Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗賾 (?–1107?) in 1103. Use of a monastic bathhouse is one of the many topics discussed in this code (W 111, p.896a18–b12).[82] A bath master (*yu zhu* 浴主) cleans the bathhouse one day before its use and starts the process of bringing water to the boil. On the bathing day itself, prior to the meal, he posts an announcement for the 'opening of the bath' (*kai yu* 開浴), the 'rinsing of sweat' (*lin han* 淋汗) or the 'cleaning of the hair' (*jing fa* 淨髮). Next he prepares various utensils and other items: clean towels, incense, flowers, lamps, candles, 'wind medicine' (*feng yao* 風藥)[83] and tea sets. He also prepares an area for *bodhisattva*s, who will be invited to enter the water.[84] After the midday meal, the time for bathing is announced by striking a board. The first people to enter the bathhouse are donors, who burn incense and worship, while *bodhisattva*s are invited to enter the bath. Then the monks are called to the bathhouse by the striking of a bell and a drum. Senior monks go to an upper hall, while junior monks go to a lower one. Everyone brings a clean towel and a basin. In the bathhouse, every bather must behave in a most modest and decent way: they should not laugh, talk or make any other noise. They should respect one another and always yield to their superiors. Monks may not bathe naked,[85] nor enter the bathhouse barefoot. All contamination of the water must be avoided, so spitting, nose-blowing and washing clothes in the water are all prohibited. Contrary to the *Tianzhu bieji*, it is also forbidden to dry clothes next to a fire.

The above description reveals a complex bathing process that focuses on cleanliness, hierarchy, respect and decency. While bathing seems to include a degree of relaxation, given that tea could be consumed, it is also a time to pay one's respects to *bodhisattva*s and the values they represent, and to mingle with lay donors. This reminds us of the merit to be gained through contributing to the building of a bathhouse, merit which is, as it were, accumulated by the bathing monks. Not surprisingly, these monks must be clean and pure, and behave in an exemplary fashion.[86]

The *Chanyuan qing gui* is followed by a series of *qing gui* manuals, all compiled in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.[87] These manuals form the basis of all future monastic organization.[88] Each one includes a discussion of bathing facilities, generally repeating information given in earlier compilations: *Conglin jiaoding qing gui zongyao* 叢林校定清規總要 , *Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Mon-*

asteries, compiled by the monk Jinhua Weimian 金華惟勉 in the late thirteenth century (W 112, p.54a3–b2),[89] *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* 禪林備用清規, *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, compiled in 1311 by the monk Zeshan Yixian 澤山弌咸 (W 112, p.110b1–11), and the very influential *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*, compiled by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between 1335 and 1343 (T.2025, p.1131b18–c3).[90] The *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* and the *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* add that monks should bathe every five days in winter, while in summer they should bathe daily.[91] Both texts also refer to a statue enshrined in the bathhouse, probably representing the layman Bhadrapāla, who attained enlightenment when in a bathhouse and was subsequently granted *bodhisattva*-ship.[92] Finally, they explain how bathing monks, assisted by Bhadrapāla, transfer considerable merit to any lay donors who supported the building of the bathhouse through their donations.

The 'rules of purity' also made their way to Japan, where some monastic leaders enthusiastically adopted and promoted them.[93] One of the most influential masters was undoubtedly the thirteenth-century Japanese monk Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), who spent many years in Chinese Chan monasteries. In his *Shōbō genzo* 正法眼藏, *Eye of the Treasury of the Right Dharma* (T.2582, pp.205a8–207a5), achieving purity – of both body and mind – is principal motivation for any washing activity. So it is unsurprising that he also insists a monk's feet should be spotless when he meditates. His primary concern, however, is with cleanliness of the mouth, as will be discussed in a next chapter.[94]

Dōgen belongs to a generation of monks who were very keen to preserve the Chan tradition as outlined in the 'rules of purity'. These Japanese monks also wanted to reproduce the architectural layout of large Chinese Chan monasteries accurately in their homeland. To achieve this, sketches were made in China and taken to Japan. A number of these ground plans and designs have survived and show us where the many facilities of several Chan monasteries were located. The earliest compilation of such ground plans – known as *Gozan jissatsu zu* 五山十刹図, *Illustrations of the Five Mountains and the Ten Temples* – is owned by the monastery of Daijōji in Kanazawa. The monastery's surviving copy is thought to be based on an original of around 1250.[95] It is a very detailed compilation featuring seventy-two illustrations, including full ground plans of several Chinese monasteries and even some individual buildings, including a bathhouse, a washstand and latrines.[96] The bathhouse of the thirteenth-century Tiantongshan 天童山 monastery, in present-day Zhejiang province, is reproduced in considerable detail (see Fig. 2). Situated to the southwest of the main gate, it is seven bays wide and four deep.[97] A plaque reading *xuanming* 宣明, 'clarity', hangs over the door. This refers to the aforementioned Bhadrapāla.[98] Above the door to the bathhouse itself hangs another plaque, which reads *xiangshui hai* 香水海, 'perfumed sea'. According to Martin Collcutt, this might be a reference to perfumed water used when bathing a statue of the Buddha.[99] On a table at the entrance stands a statue of Bhadrapāla, with an incense burner in front of him. To the left of the

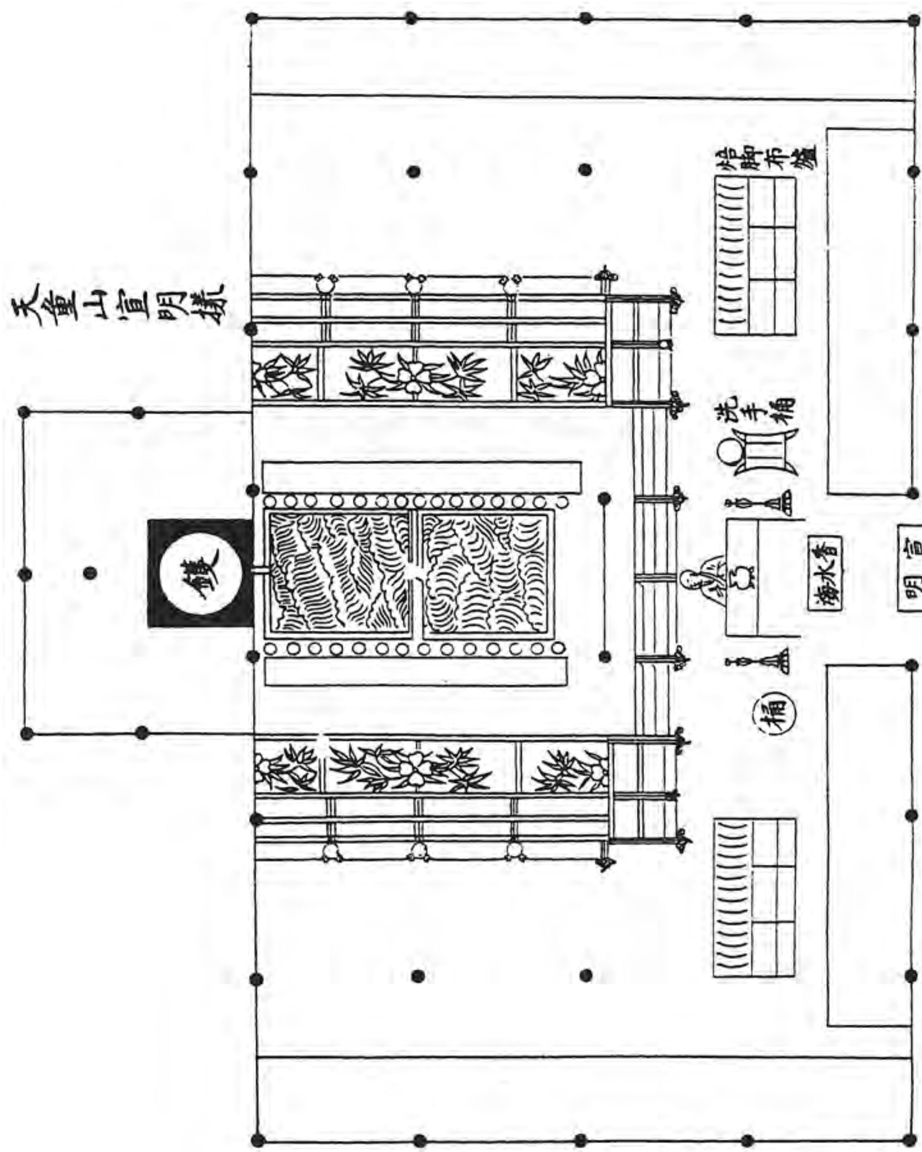


Figure 2. The Bathhouse at Tiantongshan

After Zhang Shiqing 张十庆 , *Wu shan shi cha tu yu Nan Song Jiangnan chan si* 五山十刹图与南宋江南禅寺 (Plans of the Five Mountains and Ten Temples, Southern Song Chan Monasteries of Jiangnan), (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 126

statue is a washtub (*tong* 桶), and to the right a basin for hand-washing (*xi shou tong* 洗手桶). Further to the left and right there are stoves above which damp clothes or towels may be dried. Next to the stove on the right-hand side there is a caption stating, 'stove to dry clothes to wrap the legs' (*bei jiao bu lu* 焙脚布炉).[100] Monks take off their clothes, put them aside and don their bathing wraps on platforms that are located around three of the walls. The bath itself consists of two large basins, with the water heated by a cauldron (*huo* 鑊) situated in an annexe of the main building. Monks sit at the side of the basins, as was common in China.

4. Concluding remarks: monks, laymen and soap

The Indian *vinaya* texts mention three types of bathing practice: one can bathe in a river, in a pool (including an artificial pool in a monastery) or in a bathhouse. The bathhouse is described as a hot and humid room, ideal for a sweat bath. Texts compiled in China, on the other hand, primarily refer to monastic bathhouses in which the 'bath' comprises basins filled with hot water, with the monks sitting around them. This method of bathing was in accordance with Chinese tradition, so was not imported from India. Nevertheless, as John Kieschnick suggests, Chinese monastics probably did import the Indian practice of taking regular communal baths with equals at a time when this was still unknown in wider Chinese society.[101]

While the method of bathing is quite different in Indian and Chinese monasteries, attitudes towards the practice are similar in the two countries, although some evolution is apparent. When advocating bathing, Indian monastic texts tend to stress its importance in relation to health, hygiene, cleanliness, decorum, seniority and the danger of sexual attraction. However, these various motives for washing are discrete and not necessarily linked to one another. For instance, bathing is said to aid in the treatment of health problems resulting from such factors as summer heat and overeating, and it is strongly recommended as a means to remove dirt and sweat. But these two benefits of bathing are not causally connected. Dirt is rarely viewed as an unhygienic substance. Instead, it is usually abhorred because it contributes to a loss of dignity. The texts advise that nakedness and any kind of shame should be avoided for a similar reason.

While the Chinese commentaries largely echo their Indian predecessors, there are also some striking differences between the two literatures. Most notably, health and hygiene are almost totally absent from Chinese monastic discussions of bathing, while cleanliness and decorum are highlighted. Although a Song inscription in a monastic compound indicates that prevention of illness remained an essential motive for constructing a bathhouse in a monastery,[102] cleanliness is given much higher priority than any other aspect of bathing in the monastic guidelines. This focus on cleanliness was probably triggered by an ongoing and increasing desire to achieve purity in both body and mind. Although the concept of purity is mentioned in the Indian *vinaya*s, it is much more highly developed in later texts, particularly the Chi-

nese Mahāyāna guidelines. Other aspects of this process were an increasing abhorrence of nakedness and a stronger focus on respect. While the earliest texts consider it to be important not to be seen naked by outsiders, later texts prescribe ever more clothes or towels to cover the body even while bathing with equals. Similarly, giving or receiving massages, which was allowed with some restrictions in the early *vinaya*s, is totally banned in later texts. Instead, a towel and/or a 'wooden hand' are recommended for back-rubbing.

Cleanliness and purity are not only linked to the monk's own body and mind but are connected to transferring merit to lay donors, who play an increasingly prominent role in the building of bathhouses. This growing interaction with lay people in the bathing process, seen as a kind of mutual purification, is a clear sign of the close relationship between a monastery and its lay followers. The desire to achieve purity thus provides a bridge between monastics and lay people.

4.1. Laymen and monks

Of course, it was not only Buddhists who were determined to maintain a clean and pure body. When Buddhism entered China and monasteries took root in Chinese soil, as Joseph Needham states, 'an Indian emphasis on personal cleanliness powerfully reinforced the indigenous prescriptions'.[103] For a young Chinese layman, especially one from an elite background, adjustment to monastic rules of bodily care would not have been especially daunting.[104] This was particularly true with respect to bathing. Indeed, before guidelines for the strict regulation of bathing had been drafted in the Buddhist monastic world, a set of standard bathing practices had already evolved in the secular world of ancient China.

There was a powerful appreciation of the need for a clean body in the upper layers of pre-Han Chinese society. As Joseph Needham and Nathan Sivin have pointed out, this concept was tightly interwoven with Confucian morality, which formed the backbone of imperial China for over two millennia.[105] Indeed, guidelines for bathing must be considered within the complex set of rules that defined the world of the Confucian gentleman (*junzi* 君子): a pure mind in a clean body. References to the bathing process appear in most of the influential Confucian works, such as the *Liji* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*), the *Yili* 儀禮 (*Etiquette and Ceremonials*) and the *Zuozhuan* 佐傳 (*Commentary of Zuo*), compiled between the fifth and third centuries BCE.[106] All of these works contain numerous admonitions and prohibitions that had to be followed in a domestic context. In a Confucian sense, bathing was one of the constituent characteristics of the ideal *junzi*'s lifestyle, in which inner and outer purity are naturally combined.[107] To some extent, washing was also a mark of cultural distinction. A Confucian gentleman could distinguish himself from the common man by cleaning his body regularly and in accordance with the etiquette of high society. Of course, lesser people bathed too, but they simply did not have the time to indulge in the institutionalized, or ceremonial, practices of the Confucian gentleman.[108]

From the late BCE onwards, textual traditions contain increasingly detailed regulations with respect to the frequency and the length of time that should be devoted to bathing, while continually reinforcing ancient customs. Particular attention was paid to the regular washing of hands, feet and face. However, in medico-philosophical contexts, the head was considered the most important part of the body, so more frequent washing of it was recommended. Furthermore, we find an exceedingly elaborate and sophisticated terminology with respect to bathing. As Liu Zenggui shows in a thorough analysis of pre-Han bathing customs, a variety of words were used to express the practice of bathing or washing, with differentiation depending on the specific part of the body that was being washed.[109] By the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), the basic Confucian regimen for personal care consisted of washing the hands and the face in the morning. Then, every fifth day, one should thoroughly wash the hair.[110] General adherence to these guidelines seemed to continue after the Han, although the interval for washing one's hair may have increased from five to ten days. The importance of living by these rules even came to be expressed in the term for the salary received by Tang dynasty officials – *wan mu zhi zi* 浣沐之資, 'money for cleaning and washing'.[111] As Edward H. Schafer points out, the character *wan* 浣 is used in a double sense: in addition to its original meaning of 'cleaning', it equally means 'ten' or 'decade'.[112] This adherence to a regular routine of washing is very similar to what was promoted and practised in large Chinese public monasteries.

Cleanliness, purity, social standards and sophistication therefore all contribute to the prescriptive Confucian guidelines on bathing. These features, or at least the first three, are strikingly echoed in the attitudes and mentalities displayed in Buddhist normative texts. In addition, Confucian guidelines contain an aversion to nakedness. Towels have to be worn at all times, and there is a strict separation of the sexes – an obvious characteristic of Buddhist monastic life. The mingling of men and women during bathing was taboo in Confucianism. This restriction in the lay world can be traced directly in sources such as the *Liji*[113] and can also be inferred from a reference in the *Hanshu* 漢書 *(Book of the Han Dynasty),* which clearly disapproves of the practice of mixed bathing among 'the southern barbarians'.[114] Moreover, archaeological excavations have provided supporting evidence. Han tombs, for instance, show the presence of a wall that has been interpreted as a physical line of division, probably indicating the separation of sexes in the bathhouse.[115]

The importance of bathing, decorum, cleanliness and purity among the monastic and lay communities is also illustrated by the volume of literature that was devoted to this topic by monks and laymen alike. In the secular world, even the highest echelons turned their attention to bathing. For instance, in 550, the Emperor Xiao Gang 蕭綱, of the Liang dynasty, wrote a book of three chapters entitled *Muyu jing* 沐浴經 (*Manual of Balneology*).[116] Taking into account Xiao Gang's other writings, we may assume that the *Muyu jing* was compiled in a Daoist context, and its content was probably strongly philosophical. Another work that discussed bathing extensively is listed in the standard history of the Sui dynasty (589–618). Its title, *Muyu shu* 沐浴書 (*Treatise on the Bath*), suggests that it was a handbook.[117] Any Chinese layman

may well have had access to these books. It is probably far fetched to suggest that they were standard reading for all young monks-to-be, yet their mere existence indicates that commentaries on bathing habits were ingrained in Chinese society, so it is safe to assume that their recommendations were common knowledge among a significant portion of the population.

4.2. Bathhouses and soap

From the above, we may infer that, when Buddhism and its monastic guidelines first arrived in China, a young monk would probably not have had much difficulty in adjusting to his monastery's rules on bathing, since these would not have been too far removed from those that prevailed in the lay world. One major difference, though, was the number of people who bathed together in a bathhouse. While the utensils used during bathing were probably very similar, monastic bathhouses were likely to be much larger than the bathrooms of upper-class lay families. Since early times, Chinese elite families had a separate building in which to bathe. The *Liji* and the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (*The Masters of Huainan*) are the first works to mention such bathing rooms (*yushi* 浴室).[118] Unfortunately, while a number of early sources mention the existence of a separate room for bathing, none provides us with any substantial data that allow an accurate reconstruction or even an indication of their exact location within an upper-class residence. However, more information can be gained from archaeological excavations, such as some very interesting Han tombs in present-day Henan province.[119] Some of these tombs show the presence of a bathroom – adjacent to the main room – inside houses belonging to the gentry or palaces.[120] These excavations have revealed the rich and complex architectural planning of Han houses, and strongly suggest that Chinese elite families were familiar with bathhouse practices. Consequently, a young candidate monk leaving such a home to enter a monastery would have found little to surprise him.

As for bathing utensils, elite Chinese families of the early centuries CE are known to have used metal bathtubs, as well as an array of jugs, mats and towels.[121] Another important element in Chinese secular bathing culture is the use of a dirt remover – a soap or detergent – something that also plays a prominent role in monastic bathing practice. The mere existence of a variety of organic soaps, all produced from fruits that contain saponins, is interesting in itself.[122] One prototypical form of soap stands out both historically and linguistically. These are the so-called *zao dou* 澡豆, bath beans, which appear in both monastic and secular Chinese texts. Maybe no more than a sort of powder made from pellet-like (soya) beans, this product was probably added to the bathing water or simply smeared on the body with water.[123]

The history of this detergent may be traced back to the late Han dynasty and it is mentioned several times over subsequent centuries.[124] However, the heyday of bath beans was probably during the Tang dynasty (618–907). At least from that time onwards, bath beans seemed to become part of the realm of medico-cosmetic prod-



Figure 3. Bath beans, Taiwan
(own picture)

ucts and, in this context, we should mention their inclusion in the medical works of such renowned physicians as Sun Simiao 孙思邈 (ca. 581–682) and Wang Tao 王焘 (ca. 702–772). The former's *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 (*Supplement to the Formulas of a Thousand Gold Worth*) and the latter's *Waitai miyao fang* 外台秘要方 (*Secret Essentials of the Outer Terrace*) abound with references to the use of *zao dou* for cosmetic purposes.[125] This implies that the product was a luxury commodity, used only by the wealthy few. Bath beans' exclusive character may also be inferred from a reference in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 *(The Old Book of the Tang)*, compiled in 973–974, which suggests that they were offered as a tribute product by the region of Binzhou 邠州 (Shenxi province).[126] Indeed, apart from these sources, the term *zao dou* is rarely mentioned in any medieval Chinese literature. Widespread use of the soap beyond the upper layers of society may thus, in all likelihood, be ruled out. However, commoners might well have used – undoubtedly cheaper – alternatives. The *zao dou* that were used by our young monk while taking a bath in the monastic compound, as prescribed in the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, may not have possessed the same exclusivity as the *zao dou* used by the Tang elites. In fact, it may have been a completely different product. In this respect, it is important to note that a direct reference to the character of bath beans can be found in the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1435, p.275c23–25, largely parallel to T.1435, pp.416c28–417a2), where the Buddha, when questioned by Upāli, explains how *zao dou* should be made. According to this passage, several different beans and two unidentified plants – *jiatipoluo cao* 迦提婆羅草 and *lipintuozi* 梨頻陀子 – were used in the production of the old Indian *zao dou*. There is considerable variation between this recipe and that contained in the *Waitai miyao fang*, an eighth-century Chinese work that was strongly influenced by Indian medical texts, although the basic ingredient, beans, remains the same.[127]

All of this prompts an intriguing question: did the Indian and Chinese 'soap beans' originate independently in their respective contexts or did the *zao dou* travel from India to China along with other Indian, and specifically Buddhist, knowledge? Although it is impossible to answer this question definitively, it should be emphasized that, at least in the fifth century CE, when the Indian *vinaya*s were being translated into Chinese, the translators – Buddhayaśas, Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 and others – seem to have known that the original Indic term needed to correspond with the Chinese equivalent of *zao dou*, regardless of what the term meant in fifth-century China. Yet, the translation of the *vinaya* texts itself did not necessarily herald the historical and linguistic introduction of bath beans to China. A popular story from the fifth-century novel *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–ca. 443), which features a Jin dynasty general, Wang Dun 王敦 (266–324), mistaking bath beans for dried foodstuffs, dissolving them in water and swallowing the beverage, seems to indicate that they were already present and possibly hints at an even more complex history of bath beans in ancient and medieval China.[128] Again, we suggest that *zao dou* was probably not a single product but rather a variety of similar products, either Indian or Chinese in origin, to which this term was tagged over a lengthy period of time.

Be that as it may, the important point is that a young Chinese monk would probably be very familiar with most of the obligations prevailing in his new environment. More specifically, with respect to bathing customs, the monasteries largely echoed common practice and attitudes. Both secular and monastic society stressed the link between decorum, cleanliness and purity, and although monastic bathhouses were much larger than family bathrooms, the utensils used within them, such as towels and bathtubs, were identical. Finally, our young monk may well have used bath beans for years prior to entering the monastery, albeit totally unaware of their potential link to Indian Buddhism.

Notes

1. Georges Vigarello, *Le propre et le sale, L'hygiène du corps depuis le Moyen Age* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1985), 15–36, transl. *Concepts of Cleanliness, Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 7–27.

2. Vigarello, *Le propre et le sale,* 49–89, transl., 41–77.

3. A *pācittika* (or variants) is an offence that needs to be expiated (cf. Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part I, 141–147).

4. T.1428, pp.674b6–675a16. All other *vinaya*s have a parallel rule: Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, pp.116-119; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, pp.65c29–66b10; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, pp.371c25–372c17; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, pp.109c8–110a3; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1442, p.847a18–c17.

5. Introductory stories were added to the *prātimokṣa* rules some time after the original rules were drafted. Consequently, the logical link between the story and the rule might be quite loose. The origin of a practice discussed in a rule may also be explained differently in other parts of the *vinaya*. In this case, for instance, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, p.845c2–3 and p.846a11–12) also relates how some Buddhist followers notice that Aśvaka and Avanti lay people bathe quite often. Thereupon, the Buddha is asked to introduce this practice to the Aśvaka and Avanti monastic community. There is, however, no information on exactly how often one might or should bathe.

6. Fine medicinal powder was allowed by the Buddha to treat certain ailments, such as ulcers. Alternatives are fine mud, leafs, flowers and fruit (T.1428, p.946a29–b3).

7. Some smaller *vinaya* guidelines indicate that vanity is never permitted: while bathing, the monastic may not use perfume (still, as we will see later, some fragrant mud was allowed, to reduce body odour) or do physical exercises to increase their bodily strength. To eliminate perspiration and bad odour, the monastic should use a scraping knife (T.1428, p.946a24–29). This knife cannot be made of precious material. Instead, it should be made of bone, ivory, horn, copper, iron, lead, tin, grass, bamboo, wood or *śalākā* (*sheluo* 舍羅; cf. Ciyi ed., *Foguang Dacidian* (Gaoxiong: Foguang Chubanshe, 1988), vol. 7, 6777, s.v. 籌; this refers to any small stick or twig that can be made of all sorts of material, such as reed, wood, copper, iron, ivory, horn or bone; its place in the above enumeration might point to the fact that the translator did not know precisely what *śalākā* meant; for an overview of the different usages of *śalākā*, see *Hôbôgirin, Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises, Cinquième fascicule*, ed. Paul Demiéville (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1979), 431–456, s.v. *chū*). It is hereby forbidden to make the scraper so sharp that it can be used to shave away hair. Shaving body hair was seen as a way to make oneself beautiful and attractive (for a discussion, see Chapter IV).

8. *Pao* means 'pustule' or 'blister'. *Fei* is explained as an inability to sweat, caused by the damp of summer heat affecting the body (cf. Nigel Wiseman and Feng Ye, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine* (Brooklyn (MS): Paradigm Publications, 2000), 463). In the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, an Ayurvedic classic, the earliest version of which probably dates to the first century CE, a possible equivalent can be found in a type of burn caused by exposure to the sun, called *dur-daghda*, in which a red burn is accompanied by vesicles or blisters. Cf. Kaviraj Kunjalal Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 2005), vol. 1, ch. 12, 88–89.

9. A *yojana* is the distance traversed in one harnessing or without unyoking (Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990 [1899]), 858, s.v. *yojana*).

10. These reasons are similar to the five virtues, resulting from making bathhouses, enumerated by the Buddha in the *Ekottarāgama*, *The Increased by One Discourses* (T.125, p.703a2–9; with many thanks to John Kieschnick for pointing out this passage in an unpublished paper on monastic bathhouses): bathhouses allow one to extirpate 'wind' (see further note 44), to cure illness, to remove dust and grime, to make the body feel light and easy, and to make one soft and white (i.e. to have a healthy skin).

11. *Śaikṣa* rule (a rule of good behaviour) 47, T.1428, pp.708c16–709a7 (the hands are soiled with food). Parallel to Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, pp.198–199; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.75a19–29; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.407b19–c4; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.138c10–12; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1442, p.903b9–11.

12. T.1428, p.732a29–b6.

13. The Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, pp. 122–123, similarly mentions a bathing pool constructed inside the monastic compound and reserved for monks only. Also the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.509b7–10 mentions a pool especially used by monks. However, it is not clear whether this pool is situated inside or outside the monastery. The text mainly points out the importance of covering one's nakedness when bathing in the pool.

14. In this context, it comes as no surprise that even the way to wash oneself was regulated so as to avoid any sexual association. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, pp.737c16–738a15) even says that a *bhikṣuṇī* washing her vagina may not use more than the first finger joint of two fingers. If she exceeds that, she commits a *pācittika*. The Pāli *vinaya* (Vin IV, pp.262–263), the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.87a17–b1), the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1435, pp.317c10–318a5) and the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1443, pp.997c26–998a14) all have a parallel rule.

15. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, p.278; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.87c24–29 (one should not bathe naked except in well-screened-off places; another rule, p.98c8–12 mentions that a nun should not bathe in a place where she can be observed by other people); *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, pp.528c4–529b9; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.341c14–26.

16. A *bhikṣu* who bathes naked is said to commit a *duṣkṛta*, 'a bad deed' (T.1428, p.749a14).

17. While the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* and the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* mention several options for covering oneself, the Pāli *vinaya,* the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* and the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* only refer to a robe to cover one's nakedness.

18. Skt. *udakaśāṭikā* (see Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part II, 730, note 170). For more specifications on the standard robes for nuns, see Ann Heirman, "Yijing's View on the *Bhikṣuṇī*s' Standard Robes," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 21 (2008): 145–158.

19. Other *vinaya*s contain a parallel rule: Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, pp.278–279; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, pp.528c4–529b9 (which also contains the ban on bathing naked); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.335a1–25.

20. The length of a hand span (*vitasti*) is unclear, as clearly acknowledged by Daoxuan, T.1804, p.108c5–8. He proposes a length which corresponds to 0.462 metres. For details, see Chapter II, note 38.

21. Skt. *varṣāśāṭīcīvara* (see Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part II, 731, note 174).

22. A *niḥsargika-pācittika* (or variants) is an offence that needs to be expiated. In addition, an unlawfully obtained or possessed object needs to be relinquished (cf. Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part I, 138–141).

23. See also *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, p.942b9–15 and p.946a18–22): outside the monastery one should bathe in a well-screened-off place. One should never bathe naked in an open place.

For a discussion on the attitude of the monastic community towards nakedness and its link to sexual attraction, see, in particular, Bernard Faure, *The Red Thread, Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 64–97 and John Powers, *A Bull of a Man, Images of Masculinity, Sex, and the Body in Indian Buddhism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 67–111.

24. Exactly what kind of medicine the Buddha may have suggested to induce vomiting (emetics) is not immediately clear from the text, but the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* has a lengthy chapter on emetic medicine (cf. Kaviraj Kunjalal Bhishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 2005), vol. 2, ch. 33, 664–669). In the Chinese context, emetics have been mentioned in medical texts since ancient times. The term used in the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, *tu xia yao* 吐下藥, can be traced back to the *Shennong bencaojing* 神農本草經, *The Divine Farmer's Materia Medica*, a treatise on medicinal plants and other substances probably compiled between 300 BCE and 200 CE. Its use is recommended for cases when food and drink are not being digested. However, no details are given on the constituents of this medicine. For details, see, Du Zuyi 杜祖貽, Guan Zhixiong 關志雄 , Tang Weiqi 湯偉奇, *Zhongyixue wenxian jinghua: fu kaozheng tulu ji suoyin* 中醫學文獻精華 : 附考證圖錄及索引 (Essential Texts for the Study of Chinese Medicine Including Textual Research, Album and Index), (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2004), 115; Yang, Shou-zhong, *The Divine Farmer's Materia Medica: A Translation of the Shen Nong Ben Cao Jing* (Boulder (CO): Blue Poppy Press, 1998), 72, 77, 108. The congee and the bird-meat soup mentioned in the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* fit into the context of medicinal soups (*yūṣa*), and more specifically meat soups, known in classical Ayurvedic treatises, such as, for instance, the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, dating back to the third or second century BCE (cf. Priya Vrat Sharma, *Caraka Saṃhitā* (Varanasi: Chaukhamba Orientala, 2010), vol. 1, "Sūtrasthāna", ch. 27, 222).

25. Jīvaka is traditionally known as the Buddha's physician. The name may, in fact, refer to more than one person in Indian medical history. For a disambiguation and an exhaustive survey of primary and secondary literature on Jīvaka, see Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld, *A History of Indian Medical Literature* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1999–2002), vol. IA, 693 (see notes 256, 259, and others); on his life and career, see Kenneth G. Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India, Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998; first edition, 1991), 52–61. For an in-depth study of Jīvaka's impact on Chinese medicine and surgery, see C. Pierce Salguero, "The Buddhist Medicine King in Literary Context: Reconsidering an Early Medieval Example of Indian Influence on Chinese Medicine and Surgery," *History of Religions* 48, no. 3 (2009): 183–210.

26. Similar accounts, with details on the construction and use of a bathhouse, are given by the Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, pp.119–122, pp.220–221; the *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.171b2–15; the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, pp.508c24-509b13; the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, pp.299c9-300a10; and the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.219a11–c21. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.509a17–20) adds that the time of bathing is announced by giving a sign in the monastery, upon which monks can enter the bathhouse. In case all monks bathe at the same place, one should enter in order of rank. These details reveal that Indian monasteries could organize their bathing activities in quite a strict manner.

27. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, p.942a16–18) considers it to be particularly embarrassing when lay people can see the male organs of members of the monastic community. It shows their sexuality, and might damage the image of the *saṃgha*.

28. Since monks differ in height, seats in the bathhouse should be of different sizes (T.1428, p.954c20–23).

29. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.942b19–20, also indicates that, in order to limit the amount of mud, one should try to drain water from the bathhouse.

30. The practice of bathing naked might not have been allowed by all *vinaya*s. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.171b7–12; with thanks to John Kieschnick for pointing out this passage) states that monks should not bathe naked, nor massage one another when naked. Yet, it is again the exposure of one's nakedness to lay people (which occurred when monks left the bathing place) that triggered this rule. In this sense, it remains unclear whether this ban on nakedness also applies *inside* the bathhouse. Moreover, as we have seen above (see note 15), the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* contains another passage that explicitly states that bathing naked in well-screened-off places is permitted.

31. T.1428, p.986b4–5 specifies that if one ejaculates when touched by mistake during a massage (with medicinal powder or mud), this does not constitute an offence. A similar specification can be found on p.580a28–b2: it is not an offence if one unintentionally ejaculates as a result of receiving cold or warm water on the body while bathing, when using tree-bark, medicinal powder or mud in the bathhouse, or when undergoing a massage. Furthermore, if one monk rubs the body of another monk and this monk gets excited and starts to have sex, then the one who gave the massage does not commit an offence, provided he did not enjoy the sexual activity (T.1428, p.974b28–c3). All these sexual acts are unintentional and therefore do not incur any blame. For a discussion, see Faure, *The Red Thread*, 83–86, and more generally Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 52–58. Rather intriguing is the use of tree-bark, to which compendia of Indian materia medica attribute various medicinal benefits. An outstanding example is the *neem* tree (Lat. *Azadirachta indica*), the bark of which is used as a compound in decoctions for treating fever (see Uday Chand Dutt, *The Materia Medica of the Hindus* (Calcutta: Dass, 1922), 137–139).

32. Maybe, as one of the anonymous readers kindly suggests, this is not as odd as we might think, since a naked monk cannot have anal sex with a dressed one. This is an interesting suggestion, which also accords with a phenomenon that occurs frequently in *vinaya* texts: namely, an enumeration of possibilities that seems to test the analytical skills of the author/compiler rather than provide practical advice. In passages on bodily practices, however, such enumerations of merely theoretical situations do not seem to occur, or are at least very rare. Moreover, we feel that a dressed man might feasibly have anal sex, or at least become sexually excited.

33. According to Joseph Needham, in view of the widespread use of this device in India, the origin of the well sweep (or counterbalanced bailing bucket or swape) is likely to lie in that region. However, the device, also known by its Arabic name *shādūf*, was also widely used in other ancient cultures, such as those of Babylonia and Egypt. In China, it is thought to have existed at least since the fifth century BCE. Methods of independent origination or gradual proliferation which carried the well-sweep to the various corners of Asia remain vague. Cf. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 4: Physics and Physical Technology, Part II, Mechanical Engineering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 331–335.

34. T.1428, p.675b18–19, p.675c4–5. The term *wenshi* 溫室 , 'hot room', while always indicating a place where fire is made, can refer to very different kinds of rooms. In a context of bathing, it refers to a place where one takes off one's clothes (see below). In other contexts, such as in the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀, *Great* (*Sūtra*) *of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk* (see Introduction, note 37), it refers to a room where monks devote themselves to the study of *sūtra*s (T.1470, p. 919a1–15).

35. Edward H. Schafer translates *zao dou*, lit. 'wash-beans', as 'washing legumes' ("The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Palace," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 76, no. 2 (Apr.–Jun. 1956): 64). Whether this

term is justified remains doubtful, since the use of beans, or of pods of beans, in the manufacture of 'bath beans', a term suggested by Joseph Needham, cannot be ascertained in a premodern context. Cf. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, vol. VI: Biology and Biological Technology, Part 6: Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 88 (the relevant chapter is a corroborated version of earlier work by Joseph Needham, cf. Joseph Needham, Wang Ling et al., *Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West: Lectures and Addresses on the History of Science and Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 365–373). According to Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld, soap did not exist in ancient India, although a case can be made for prototypical soaps which existed in various forms (Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld, *A History of Indian Medical Literature,* vol. IB: 388, note 225). There is no doubt that the technology and know-how available were insufficient to produce animal-fat-based soaps, yet from early on a variety of techniques and habits developed in which mixtures of vegetal products were applied for the cleansing of the body and the washing of clothes. D.K. Agarwal and Suresh Chandra Shukla refer to various kinds of fruit with detergent qualities that were used in the cleaning of clothes (D. K. Agarwal and Suresh Chandra Shukla, "Washerman and Washing Materials in Ancient India," *Indian Journal of History of Science* 19, no. 4 (1984): 314–322). One of these is the *ariṣṭa* (Lat. *Sapindus trifoliatus*), which is known to contain saponins. The fruits are commonly called 'soapnuts'. Whether these may correspond to what came to be called *zao dou* by the Chinese of the first millennium cannot be fully certified. For more on the use of soap in China, cf. infra.

36. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.509a20, specifies that one has to identify one's own clothes with one's belt.

37. In this passage on storing bathing tools, an additional product used in the bathhouse is mentioned – medicinal powder (*xi mo yao* 細末藥 , T.1428, p.803a9; see also note 6). The tools that are used by a teacher are also offered to the abbot when he wants to bathe (T.1428, p.840b23–24) and to an elderly monk (T.1428, p.905a2–4, 10-11, 28–29). The latter passage adds tree-bark (*shu pi* 樹皮) to the list (also mentioned at T.1428, p.909a22). Its use is not explained (see note 31).

38. See also T.1428, pp.904c26–905b3, which contains a parallel passage on how to help an elderly monk. Although all activities are very similar, the latter passage uses only the term *yushi* 浴室, 'bathhouse', and does not refer to a *wenshi* 溫室, 'hot room'. However, it does refer to two areas: one in which to undress, and one in which to wash. Similar passages can be found in the Pāli *vinaya*, Vin I, p.47 and Vin II, p.224, in the *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.178b17–21, and in the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.301c8–22.

39. The text is attributed to An Shigao by a catalogue privately edited by the layman Fei Changfang 費長房 in 597, the *Li dai san bao ji* 歷代三寶紀, *History of the Three Treasures in Successive Reigns* (T.2034, p.51b7, p.52b23–24), as well as by the *Kaiyuan shi jiao lu* 開元釋教錄, *Kaiyuan Era Buddhist Catalogue*, a standard reference work completed in 730 by Zhisheng 智昇 (T.2154, p.479b16, pp.480c25–481a2). The *Zhong jing mulu* 眾經目錄, *Catalogue of Sūtras*, compiled in 594 by twenty masters led by the monk Fajing 法經 , however, attributes the text to the third-century monk Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (T.2146, p.116c18), which might be a more correct attribution. Indeed, it is very doubtful that the *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* is a translation of An Shigao. First, Fei Changfang is known to have inflated the number of translations attributed to An Shigao, mistakes that were only partially corrected by Zhisheng (Kōgen Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras, Origin, Development, Transmission* (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Co., 1982), 105–106). Second, contrary to the early basic non-native translation style of An Shigao, the *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* reads quite fluently. In addition, it comprises a relatively long praising ode, composed of verses, while it has been noticed that none of An Shigao's authentic translations contain verses (Jan Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations, Texts from the Eastern Han* 東漢 *and Three Kingdoms* 三國 *Periods* (Tokyo: The International Research Institute for

Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008), 44). Third, the text is not listed among An Shigao's translations in the earliest extant catalogue of Buddhist texts, the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, *Collection of Records concerning the Tripiṭaka*, compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 between 510 and 518 (Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras*, 190), T.2145, pp.5c23–6b3. And finally, a lost catalogue of the monk Dao'an 道安 (312–385), the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理眾經目錄, *Comprehensive Catalogue of Scriptures*, completed in 374 (Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China, The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China, Third Edition with a Foreword by Stephen F. Teiser* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 329–330, note 65) and incorporated in Sengyou's catalogue, also strongly points to a translator different from An Shigao. Dao'an's work consists of about 600 titles, the latest ones dating from around 300 CE. It does not include the *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* among An Shigao's translations. Still, Dao'an mentions a *sūtra* with a seemingly related title, the *Wenshi jing* 溫室經, *Sūtra on the Bathhouse*, without attributing it to any translator. Sengyou later adds that an 'old catalogue' (*jiu lu* 舊錄; it is unclear to which catalogue this refers, cf. Nattier, *Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 12) lists this text as *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* 溫室洗浴眾僧經 (T.2145, p.8a14). Although Sengyou thus never refers to An Shigao as the translator of a *sūtra* on the bathhouse, the attribution of the *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* to the second-century translator was not unfamiliar to sixth-century scholars. The monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592), for instance, writes a commentary on the *sūtra* and attributes it to An Shigao (T.1793, *Wenshi jing yiji* 溫室經義記, *Analysis of the Sūtra on the Bathhouse*, p.512c21). On the other hand, the monk Huijing 慧淨 (578–645), who comments on the same *sūtra* (T.2780, *Wenshi jing shu* 溫室經疏, *Commentary on the Sūtra on the Bathhouse*), does not mention An Shigao. Both commentaries praise the karmic return of donating bathhouses extensively, making a clear connection between bathing and purity.

40. C. Pierce Salguero translates it as '*su* paste', which may refer to an ointment made from ghee or butter (C. Pierce Salguero, *Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China: Disease, Healing, and the Body in Crosscultural Translation (Second to Eighth Centuries C.E)* (Ph.D. Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2010), 226. Furthermore, it might be interesting to note that the oldest Japanese medical treatise, written at the end of the tenth century, the *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Chinese: *Yixinfang; Recipes at the Heart of Medicine*), while referring to the lost *Zimu milu* 子母秘錄 (*Secret Record about Mother and Child*) compiled by the famous Tang dynasty doctor Xu Renze 許仁則 (mid-Tang?), has an entry on the use of a very effective medicinal ointment called *su gao,* which is applied to women in labour (cf. Shen Shunong 沈澍農 *et al*., *Yixinfang xiaoshi* 醫心方校釋 (The *Ishinpō* compared and annotated) [*Ishinpō* by Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康頼 (fl. 980)], (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2001), ch. 23, vol. 3, 1396–1397.

41. The Chinese term *chun hui* leaves much room for speculation. It may refer to ashes used in the preparation of alkalis, an essential pharmaceutical product in the technique of caustics (*kṣara*), which are part of the therapeutic realm of Ayurvedic medicine. Chapter 11 of the *Sūtrasthāna* section of the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* is entirely devoted to this technique (cf. Bhishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 1, "Sūtrasthāna", ch. 11, 75–83).

42. Tooth wood will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter III.

43. The four (Great) elements (*mahābhūta* or *dhātu*) together with the three humours (also called 'disturbances' or 'defects', *tridoṣa*, being wind, bile and phlegm) constitute the foundation of Indian medical thought. General health is perceived as depending on the balance among these elements and humours (for an overview, see Dominik Wujastyk, "Indian Medicine," in *The Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, eds. William F. Bynum and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1994), 755–782; for terminologies, see S. R. Sudarshan, *Encyclopedia of Indian Medicine. Vol. 2: Basic Concepts* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 2005), 208, 213, and others).

44. Diseases linked to 'wind' can generally be defined as problems relating to anything that circulates in the body (see *Hôbôgirin, Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chi-*

noises et japonaises, Troisième fascicule, ed. Paul Demiéville (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1974), 251; Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India*, 92–96, 110–113). The influence of post-Vedic Indian therapeutics is clearly visible. Chapter 28 of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* is entirely devoted to wind diseases (*vātavyādi*) (Sharma, *Caraka Saṃhitā*, vol. 2, 461–486). Bathing, especially the sweat bath, was deemed particularly beneficial for expelling afllictions due to wind disorder (see Jean-Louis Doreau, *Les bains dans l' Inde antique, monuments et textes medicaux* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1936), 71).

45. *Shi bi* belongs to the category of *bi*-diseases (*bi bing*) and is commonly translated as 'damp impediment'. It may be interpreted as being close to rheumatism or arthritis in Western medicine. The disease is caused by dampness affecting the channels and the joints (see Wiseman and Feng, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine,* 112). C. Pierce Salguero goes one step further and translates it as 'damp paralysis' (Salguero, *Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China*, 226). On *bi*-diseases in the *Huangdi neijing* 皇帝內徑 (*The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine*), the forefather of Chinese medical traditions which was (probably) compiled in the Western Han period (206 BCE–25 CE), see Paul U. Unschuld, *Huang di nei jing su wen – Nature, Knowledge, Imagery in an Ancient Chinese Medical Text* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 217–222.

46. *Han bing* is not standard in Chinese medical terminology, nor can it be found in Ayurvedic medical works. What is meant can either be the harmful influence of cold weather (*han* 寒), leading to a variety of diseases, or 'cold' in the body, equally causing disease. In the latter sense, it is one of the eight principles (*bagang* 八綱) for the identification of disease patterns (see Wiseman and Feng, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*, 76 and 169).

47. C. Pierce Salguero speaks of 'feverish *qi*'. This word is not standard in traditional Chinese medical terminology (Salguero, *Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China*, 226).

48. *Gou hui*, which is absent from the terminology of Chinese medical traditions, is probably a translation of the Indian term *mala*, which refers to all sorts of dirt, filth and impurities and features in Indian medical terminology (cf. Akira Hirakawa, *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Tokyo: Reiyukai, 1997), 32; Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, 792, s.v. *mala*).

49. Suzanne Mrozik, *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 61–81. See also John Powers, "Why Practicing Virtue is Better than Working Out: Bodies and Ethics in Indian Buddhism," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 22 (2009), who in a study of *jātaka* (birth) stories outlines a strong correlation between virtue and physical beauty.

50. On the physical beauty and masculinity of the body of the Buddha and its moral connection, see also Powers, *A Bull of a Man*, 1–23.

51. Mrozik, *Virtuous Bodies*, 62.

52. T.1470, see Introduction, note 37.

53. *Da chen* 達嚫, a rendering of *dakṣiṇā*, 'offering', 'donation' (cf. Ciyi, *Foguang da cidian*, vol. 6, 5677, s.v. 達嚫).

54. *San shi* 三師 , lit. 'three masters', referring to those monks who perform ceremonial acts during an ordination ceremony (cf. Ciyi, *Foguang da cidian*, vol. 4, 3102, s.v. 受戒).

55. Bath beans (*zao dou* 澡豆) are also listed among the possessions of a monk in the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* (T.1484, p.1008a14).

56. The meaning of the twenty-fourth guideline (*she wu ri dang da chen li yue zhu* 設無日當達嚫禮越主) remains relatively obscure. It seems to say that one should always (*wu ri* 無日, daily) hon-

our (*da chen* 達嚫, see note 53) and respect (*li* 禮) the donors ([*tan*] *yue zhu* [檀]越主, cf. Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part II, 395, note 47, and 508, note 99).

57. The *Shami shi jie fa bing weiyi* 沙彌十戒法并威儀, *The Ten Precepts and Good Behaviour of a Śrāmaṇera* (T.1471), guidelines for novices (*śrāmaṇera*) presented as an anonymous translation of the Dong Jin 東晉 dynasty (Eastern Jin dynasty, 317–420) also contains a list of good practices, fifteen in total, some of which correspond to the aforementioned twenty-five stipulations (T.1471, p.929b26–c2, p.930a22–25). They focus on decent behaviour of novices, who should not act playfully, but should instead show respect to elders and concentrate on reading Buddhist teachings.

58. Pelliot manuscript 2410, lines 89–100, easily accessible via the International Dunhuang Project Database http://idp.bl.uk/ (last access 8 April, 2012). Most strikingly, the stipulations on *sūtra* reading have not been copied. For a comparison of the manuscript with the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, see Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism, A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 211–214.

59. For an introduction, see Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 159–163; *Monastic Life*, 114–119.

60. For details on the text, see Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 217–219 and *The Daoist Monastic Manual, A Translation of the* Fengdao Kejie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 23-47; Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 451–453.

61. See Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 159; *Monastic Life*, 114; *Daoist Monastic Manual*, 123 (with a translation of the *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*).

62. Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 159; *Monastic Life*, 114; *Daoist Monastic Manual*, 92–93.

63. Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 214-215; Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 576.

64. Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 161; *Monastic Life*, 114. In addition to these baths, ritual baths could be taken. The *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* (1.14a; see also note 65) gives a list of specific dates (for details, see Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 239, note 4). The link between bathing, purity and ritual is a theme which also appears in Buddhist texts of the same period, such as in some treatises of Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Chinese Tiantai school: *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀, *Great Calming and Contemplation*, T.1911, p.13b1–12 (for a translation, see Neal Donner and Daniel B. Stevenson, *The Great Calming and Contemplation, A Study and Annotated Translation of the First Chapter of Chih-i's Mo-ho chih-kuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 250–253) and *Fangdeng sanmei xing fa* 方等三昧行法, *Vaipulya-samādhi Practices*, T.1940, p.945a27–b25. Zhiyi underscores that a ritual conducted by impure participants is worthless.

65. For details on the text, see Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 220–221; Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 464.

66. For details, see Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 159–163; *Monastic Life*, 114–119.

67. The link between bodily purity and a more abstract purity would have been familiar to a Confucian household. As noted by Edward H. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 59, at the time of Confucius "bodily and moral purity were closely interdependent." We shall return to these matters when dealing with the development of bathing customs in the lay world.

68. See Johannes Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries, Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1937), 360.

69. John McRae, "Daoxuan's Vision of Jetavana, The Ordination Platform Movement in Medieval Chinese Buddhism," in *Going Forth, Visions of Buddhist Vinaya, Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein*, ed. William M. Bodiford (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 72.

70. For details on Daoxuan's vision on the Jetavana monastery, see, in particular, Tan, *Daoxuan's Vision of Jetavana* (including a full translation of T.1899); McRae, "Daoxuan's Vision of Jetavana".

71. T.1892, p.811a14-15: *yushi yuan* 浴室院 and *liu ce yuan* 流厠院 (with variant *ce* 厠 instead of *ce* 廁). For a description of this diagram, see Stephen F. Teiser, *Reinventing the Wheel, Paintings of Rebirth in Medieval Buddhist Temples* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 136–142. An even earlier reference to the building of a monastic bathhouse in China appears in the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*, completed ca. 547 by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (T.2092, pp.1014c19–1015a5). The text refers to the discovery of some remains of a bathhouse dating from the Jin dynasty, more than a hundred years earlier. It is situated close to a well and is said to be paved with stone (for a translation, see Yi-t'ung Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang, by Yang Hsüan-chih* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 177). Although the historical value of the *Luoyang qielan ji* is controversial, the reference provides additional evidence that, at least by the sixth century, a bathhouse was a familiar building in a monastic compound (with many thanks to John Kieschnick for pointing out this reference in an unpublished paper on monastic bathhouses; see also Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 70). For a concise overview of the development of the layout of Chinese monasteries, see Isabelle Charleux and Vincent Goossaert, "The Physical Buddhist Monastery in China," in *The Buddhist Monastery: A Cross-cultural Survey*, eds. Pierre Richard and François Lagirarde (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2003), 313–322.

72. In his description of Indian regions, Yijing also refers to ponds in which the Buddha himself once bathed (T.2125, p.220c13–14). As a result, the water is clearer than in any other pond. Similar bathing places, often producing extraordinary effects and memorialized in a bathhouse, a spring or a *stūpa*, also appear in the accounts of Faxian (T.2085, pp.859c29–860a1, p.861b8–10, p.863a24–25) and Xuanzang (T.2087, p.893b12–13, p.898a18–19, 22, p.905c25–26, p.920b4–7). One of Xuanzang's stories (p.920b4–7) specifies that people who bathe in a certain pond made by the Buddha can be cured of a variety of diseases. Linked to the exceptional purifying qualities of the virtuous (and thus purified) body of the Buddha is the practice of bathing his image as a means to render homage to him after death. According to a short text said to have been translated by Yijing (*Yu Fo gongde jing* 浴佛功德經, *Sūtra on the Merit of Bathing the Buddha*, T.698, p.800a16–25, b24–28; although the text might, in fact, be a compilation presented by Yijing as a translation; for a discussion and a translation of the text into English, see Daniel Boucher, "*Sūtra* on the Merit of Bathing the Buddha," in *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)), this kind of worship produces extensive merit for oneself and one's parents. This includes prosperity, a pleasant old age and a good rebirth (as a male rather than a female). The same worship practice is also mentioned by Yijing in his travel account (T.2125, p.226b11–27), and by Xuanzang, who describes it as a major event even attended by a king and his servants (T.2087, p.895a25–b14).

73. If necessary, a medicinal bath is allowed (T.2125, p.220c25). In a note on the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.219c3–4) Yijing adds that medical treatment should be dispensed in a room separate from the bathhouse, a practice that was common among brahmans.

74. The benefits of oil for eyesight are also mentioned in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 1, ch. 45, 424).

75. Yijing's emphasis on the interdiction of having a meal before bathing follows the Indian tradition. According to Jean-Louis Doreau, this stands in contrast to Chinese habits, but Edward H. Schafer's research shows that the habit of bathing before eating existed in ancient China (Doreau, *Les Bains*, 68; Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 59).

76. Yijing states that one rarely encounters bathhouses in the warm regions of central India, but they are extremely common in the colder north.

77. He also adds that a mixture of mud and ash is spread to prevent leakage, although he does not specify what should not leak. Since no bathtubs are mentioned and since he seems to be describing a sweat house, it presumably refers to the bathhouse itself. In this context it is worth pointing out that the therapeutic effects of the sweat bath were well known in ancient India. The *Suśruta Saṃhitā* and *Caraka Saṃhitā* both contain lengthy descriptions (for a detailed discussion, see Doreau, *Les Bains*, 69ff.).

78. Yijing's remark shows that bathing was a common practice in Chinese monasteries. Sometimes it even developed into an event, as noted by the Japanese monk Ennin 円仁 , who travelled in China between 838 and 847. In his account, Ennin mentions that, when a big festival was held in town, various monasteries prepared baths (Ennin, vol. 2, 181; for a translation, see Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary, The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: The Donald Press Company, 1955), 310). Presumably these baths were open to lay people (see Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 70; Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 69).

79. The status of an item of clothing is linked to its degree of purity, with inner clothing being less pure.

80. This 'wooden hand' seems to refer to some sort of bathing brush, probably a standard piece of bathing equipment. No other Chinese sources could be found on the existence of bathing brushes. The Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, p.106), however, mentions a so-called *gandhabba-hatthaka* ('*gandhabba*-hand'), which is explained in Thomas William Rhys Davids and William Stede eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1921–1925 (reprint 1992)), 244 as "a wooden instrument in the shape of a bird's claw with which the body was rubbed in bathing". Yet, a direct connection between the Pāli *vinaya* and the *Tianzhu bieji* seems highly improbable. It is therefore likely that both instruments developed organically in their respective cultural contexts.

81. Ladles were used in various premodern contexts from antiquity onwards, not least in the realm of cooking. See, for instance, a picture of Han dynasty ladles unearthed from a Mawangdui tomb, Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 93.

82. For a translation, see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 163–164.

83. According to Yifa (*Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 285–286, note 8), this refers to a kind of confection taken with tea. The term might also refer to any kind of medicine prescribed for diseases attributed to wind, yet its use in the present context is unclear (see Wiseman and Feng, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*, 690).

84. For details on this invitation ritual, see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 285, note 7.

85. Other passages similarly refer to the ban on nakedness: W 111, p.887a4 explicitly forbids monks to be naked publicly in the bathhouse, and p.928c9 bans nakedness altogether. The *Chanyuan qing gui* further gives some information on how to cover one's nakedness, by mentioning a bathing cloth (*yu qun* 浴裙) and a bathing towel (*yu jin* 浴巾) among the standard personal effects of a monk (W 111, p.877b12). On p.935a2 the text further stipulates that one should cover oneself with a towel.

86. As shown by Huang Min-chih 黃敏枝, "*Song dai fojiao de yushiyuan* 宋代佛教的浴室院" (Bathhouse Cloisters in Song Dynasty Buddhism), in *Shixue: chuancheng yu bianqian xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 史學：傳承與變遷學術研討會論文集 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan Daxue lishixi, 1998), lay people participated enthusiastically in the building and maintenance of monastic bathhouses, as is testified by a wealth of inscriptions related to so-called 'bathhouse cloisters' (*yushi yuan* 浴室院). These cloisters are large bathhouses that could also be used by people other than the monks of the monastery. Presumably, they were open to lay people. According to Huang, op. cit., 191–192, big monasteries probably considered this to be a service to the community by improving the physical conditions of the common people. Some of these cloisters even resemble health resorts. However, Huang adds that this service might not have been provided for free. Furthermore, no monastic writing refers to monks bathing with lay people, so it seems likely that they bathed separately.

87. Similarly based on the *Chanyuan qing gui* is the *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用, *Daily Life in the Assembly*, a monastic text compiled in 1209 by the Chan monk Wuliang Zongshou 無量宗壽 (W 111, pp.943–947; for an introduction to and a translation of this text, see Foulk, "Daily Life in the Assembly"). The text contains some interesting details. First, it discusses morning washing activities (W 111, p.943b1–7): after getting up, the monk should wash his face and clean his teeth. When washing his face, he should hold a basin in one hand and should not use much water. He should also not wash his head (by which the text presumably means the top of the head and the hair), since this dirties the basin and the (public) hand cloth that is used during washing, dries out the hair and injures the eyes. The *Ruzhong riyong* (p.946b10–11) also mentions the habit of washing one's feet after the midday meal. This practice seems to be quite formal, since it is announced with a signal on a board. The monks should use buckets when washing their feet. Those with boils or itches should wash their feet after the others have finished or in a screened-off place. The *Ruzhong riyong* further describes the bathhouse (p.947a10–b9). A monk should not enter the bathhouse with bare feet, but instead wear special wooden shoes. Water should be tipped into buckets and should never be poured all over the body to avoid splashing neighbours. There are two separate seating areas: an upper one for elders and a lower one for juniors. As with all guidelines, decency and respect are paramount, so, naturally, the monks are told they should not urinate in the bath! They are also prohibited from washing their private parts, soaking their feet in a bucket, and rubbing their feet on the water trough (*cao* 槽, presumably the bathtub, from which one should also not bail out water). Nakedness is to be avoided at all times, including when dressing and undressing (while doing so, outer and inner garments should be strictly separated). Instead, a monk should cover his body with a bathing skirt (*yu qun* 浴裙) and a leg cloth (*jiao jin* 脚巾), which he wraps around himself. Monks are also urged to refrain from speech and laughter, again for decency's sake. Finally, those with skin problems should be the last people to enter the bath. The *Ruzhong riyong* adds an element of purification of body and mind when it recommends the chanting of *sūtra*s or *dhāraṇī*s when leaving the bathing facilities. Donors are also included in the bathing process: once a monk has finished bathing, he should read out the name(s) of the donor(s) of the bathhouse and dedicate merit to him (them).
The *Ruzhong riyong* rules pay particular attention to cleanliness and to respect for oneself and the monastic environment. In this respect, hierarchy is especially important. The text is also notable for its inclusion of practical health tips, such as when giving recommendation on how to protect the hair and the eyes. Finally, it introduces an element of purification to the bathing process by encouraging monks to chant incantations when leaving the bathhouse. Only a pure monk can transfer merit to lay donors.

88. For more on these texts, see, among others, Fritz, *Die Verwaltungsstruktur der Chan-Klöster*, 16–27 and Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 47–50. The rules of purity continued to inspire Buddhist masters up to modern times, as described in detail by Johannes Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*. In his extensive research work based on data collected between 1929 and

1933, Prip-Møller describes the architectural outline of several monasteries in central China. He notices that not all monasteries have a bathhouse (*Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 131–138; 230). If they do, it is located in the outskirts of the compound, with easy access to water. In two of the major monasteries, Bao Guang Si 寶光寺 and Ding Hui Si 定慧寺, in Sichuan and Jiangsu provinces, respectively, the bathing building consists of three rooms. The first room has seats where monks leave their outer garments and shoes (in Bao Guang Si, special seats are reserved for current and former abbots). The second room is heated, and all other clothes are removed here. The bathtubs are in the third room. These tubs consist of basins filled with heated water and surrounded by seats. The Ding Hui Si monastery provides clear guidelines on how to use the bath in summer, when temperatures can be very high: everyone is urged to bathe in the afternoon in order to wash off perspiration. Monks use the bathhouse in order of rank, starting with former abbots and important guests. Two supervisors (*jian yu* 監浴) are in charge of all bathing activities. They work alongside the bath master (*yu tou* 浴頭), who is responsible for the bathhouse throughout the year (*Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 230; see also Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 32). Prip-Møller further explains that, if a monastery does not have a bathhouse, the monks generally use small (about 75 cm in diameter and 15 cm high) wooden tubs filled with hot water (*Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 131).
Prip-Møller's research shows that, in the first half of the twentieth century, monks bathed in the traditional Chinese style, seated around basins filled with hot water, with their feet in the bathtub. According to Prip-Møller, in the Bao Guang Si and Ding Hui Si monasteries, monks took off all their clothes in a kind of heated antechamber, reminiscent of the hot room of Indian monasteries. The aim of bathing was to wash off perspiration and to cleanse oneself. Monks used towels to achieve this, as noted by both Prip-Møller (*Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 230) and Welch (*The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, 115). Holmes Welch equally notes that a monk is not supposed to use soap, only bath beans. However, especially after the Second World War, soap was increasingly introduced. The monks are urged to bathe quite often during summer, a stipulation that is similarly found in the *prātimokṣa*. As in the 'rules of purity', priority depended on hierarchical rank. Prip-Møller (*Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 360) adds that the time of bathing was announced by beating a wooden sign hung between pillars in the main court of the monastery, echoing the practice outlined in the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (see above).

89. Fully parallel to *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用, W 111, p.947a10–b9.

90. For a translation of this passage into English, see Ichimura, *Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations*, 175–177; or into German, see Fritz, *Die Verwaltungsstruktur der Chan-Klöster*, 118–119. The text is very similar to one in the *Chanlin beiyong qing gui*.

91. The Japanese monk Eisai 西 (1141–1215) who spent several years in China, refers to this practice in *Kōzen gokoku ron* 興禅護国論*, Protection of the Country by the Revival of Zen*, written in 1198 (T.2543, p.15a26–27) (see also Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 285, note 5).

92. See Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains, the Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 202; Fritz, *Die Verwaltungsstruktur der Chan-Klöster*, 187–188, note 149, and 190–191, note 164; Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 285, note 7 (with references to the development of the tradition of inviting *bodhisattva*s to the bathhouse).

93. For an overview of the transmission of *qing gui* compilations to Japan, see Collcutt, "The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule," 166–171.

94. For a translation, see Nishijima Gudo Wafu and Chodo Cross, *Shōbōgenzō: the True Dharma-eye Treasure* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007–2008), vol. III, 189–194.

95. For a detailed description of the *Gozan jissatsu zu* compilation, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 172–182. For the complete set of illustrations of the *Gozan jissatsu zu*, see *Zengaku Daijiten* 禪學大辭典 , *A Dictionary of Zen Studies* (Tokyo: Taishūkan, 1978), vol. 3, 10–32.

96. See also Foulk, "Myth, Ritual and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," 167–191, who gives a detailed descriptive overview of the main facilities of a thirteenth-century Chinese Chan monastery, based on the ground plan of the Lingyin 靈隱 monastery, near the city of Hangzhou.

97. For a detailed description, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 202–203, Fritz, *Die Verwaltungsstruktur der Chan-Klöster*, 323, and Zhang Shiqing 张十庆, *Wu shan shi cha tu yu Nan Song Jiangnan chan si* 五山十刹图与南宋江南禅寺 (Illustrations of the Five Mountains and the Ten Temples and the Southern Song Chan Monasteries of Jiangnan) (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 50.

98. See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 202 and Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 285, note 7.

99. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 202. See also note 72, above.

100. Such cloths to wrap around the legs are also mentioned in the *Chanyuan qing gui*, *The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery* (W 111, p.877b10), where this text itemizes the personal effects of a monk. They have to be kept together with one's shoes. Meanwhile, the *Ruzhong riyong* mentions that a cloth is wrapped around the legs to cover one's nakedness in a bathhouse (see note 87).

101. Kieschnick, "Buddhist Monasticism," 570.

102. *Shu Dongchan Yushi bi* 書東禪浴室壁 in *Beijian ji* 北磵集, by the thirteenth-century monk Shi Jujian 釋居簡 (in *Siku quanshu* edition), 3, p.7 (with many thanks to John Kieschnick; see also Huang, "*Song dai fojiao de yushiyuan*," 184): 'if perspiration falls like rain, and if one does not bathe, one will get ill-tempered and one inevitably takes ill'. In this state, no merit can be accrued. (For references to the *Siku quanshu*, we use the following electronic edition: Yu Zhiming 余志明 (ed.), *Wenyuange Siku quanshu dianzi ban* 文淵閣四庫全書电子版 (Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chuban youxian gongsi) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2005).

103. Needham, *Medicine*, 84.

104. There is a lack of substantial evidential data on commoners' bathing practices in China, so we are forced to focus on those practices that are more widely described in the available sources. We note that the earliest forms of bathing in China were performed in lakes, pools, streams and other natural bathing sites, as well as in man-made waterways, such as canals. We may hypothesize that this remained largely true for the common people, unless some form of upward social mobility created the opportunity to adopt bathing customs that were common among high society (cf. Needham, *Medicine*, 84).

105. Joseph Needham, *Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 365–366; Needham, *Medicine*, 84.

106. For an overview of relevant references in these works, see Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 59–60; Liu Zenggui 劉增貴, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu 中國古代的沐浴禮俗" (Bathing Customs in Ancient China), *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 98, no. 4 (1999): 156ff.

107. Needham, *Medicine*, 84.

108. In addition to differences between the various sectors of society, Schafer found an emphasis on geographical differences in the writings of several Han authors. Astonished northern observers, for instance, reported certain 'strange' southern habits to the court, such as men and women

bathing together (Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 61–62; see also Liu, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 154).

109. This variation is further illustrated by multiple entries in early dictionaries, such as the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字. See Liu, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 154–156.

110. Hair care will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter IV.

111. Gao Cheng 高承 (*fl.* 1197), *Shiwu jiyuan* 事物紀原 *(Records of the Origins of Affairs and Things)*, ch. 1, 46a–b (in *Siku quanshu*); see Lien-sheng Yang, "Schedules of Work and Rest in Imperial China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 18, no. 3–4 (1955): 302; Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 60, and Needham, *Medicine*, 84.

112. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 60.

113. See, for instance, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) (comment.), *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 *(Correct Meaning of the Liji)*, (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1971), ch. 28, 235c.

114. Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), *Hanshu* 漢書 (*Book of the Han Dynasty*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), ch. 86, 2834.

115. For an overview of excavated Han tombs with bathing rooms, see Liu, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 155.

116. Unfortunately, this book has been lost. See Needham, *Medicine*, 84, note 59.

117. This work has also been lost. See Wei Zheng 魏徵 (Sui), *Suishu* 隋書 (*Book of the Sui Dynasty*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), ch. 34, 1037.

118. Cf. Zheng Xuan (127–200) and Kong Yingda (574–648) (comment.), *Liji zhengyi*, ch. 28, 235c; see also Liu, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 155); Liu An 劉安 (d. 122 BCE), *Huainan honglie jie* 淮南鴻列解 (*The Masters of Huainan – Explanation of the Greatness and the Luminosity*), ch. 12, 2b (in *Siku quanshu*).

119. For an overview of sources and archaeological findings, see Liu, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 155.

120. Qinghua Guo, *Chinese Architecture and Planning: Ideas, Methods and Techniques* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2005), 42. For identification of the various rooms, see Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architectures* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 132.

121. Cf. Liu, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 157, and Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 115.

122. Joseph Needham has a very detailed entry on soap and detergents in his volume on medicine, cf. Needham, *Medicine*, 86–90.

123. Cf. Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (The Great Dictionary of the Chinese Language), (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1994), vol. 6, 164. A similar kind of bean powder detergent is still available in Taiwan (see Fig. 3, with many thanks to Dr Robban Toleno for providing us with a specimen of this product). It can be used for dishwashing, to clean kitchen furniture or to wash vegetables.

124. Needham, *Medicine*, 86.

125. Cf. Sun Simiao 孙思邈 , *Qianjin yifang xiaoshi* 千金翼方校釋 (*Supplement to the Formulas of A Thousand Gold Worth Compared and Annotated*) (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1998), ch. 5, 91–92; and "Zao dou fang ba dao 澡豆方八道" (*Eight Ways of the Formula for Bath Beans*)

in Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang* 外台秘要方 (*Secret Essentials of the Outer Terrace*), (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1997), ch. 32, 640–641. For an overview, see Needham, *Medicine*, 88–90.

126. Liu Xu 劉昫 and Zhang Zhaoyuan 張昭遠 (fl. 10th century), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (*The Old Book of the Tang*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), ch. 37, 3720a (see also Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 64).

127. For details, see Jürgen Kovacs and Paul Unschuld (ann./transl.), *Essential Subtleties on the Silver Sea: Yin-hai jing-wei* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 37.

128. Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (*A New Account of Tales of the World*), in *Zhuzi jicheng* 諸子集成 (*Collection of the Various Schools of Thought*), eds. Guoxue zhenglishe 國學整理社 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954), ch. 34, 241; Richard B. Mather translates the *gan fan* 乾飯 which Wang Dun mistakenly took for a snack as 'dried cooked rice'. The idea of rice grains suggests that the bath beans were indeed manufactured as pellets consisting of bean powder and fragrant herbs that were dissolvable in water (Richard B. Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü. A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 479). See also Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 64. In addition, Needham informs us that the earliest mention of *zao jia* 皁莢, the soap-bean tree (*Gleditsia sinensis*), can be found in the *Shennong bencaojing* 神農本草經, *The Divine Farmer's Materia Medica* (probably compiled between 300 BCE and 200 CE). He suggests that the tree was used as early as the Later Han. Cf. Needham, *Medicine*, 86–88.

II. Toilet facilities

In the previous chapter, we saw how cleanliness and decorum lie at the heart of bathing practices. While respect for each other and for the *saṃgha* is paramount, cleanliness also plays a role in successful interaction between the monastic and lay communities. Clean and pure monks who exhibit exemplary behaviour gain more respect and increase their standing among lay donors. Of course, this image of cleanliness is threatened whenever a monk comes into contact with filth, and especially human waste – excrement and urine.

In this chapter, we turn to this essential aspect of bodily care. How did Buddhist monastics deal with human waste? Did they build toilet facilities, and, if so, what form did these take? Did the Buddhist communities of India and China place special emphasis on any particular elements of toilet practice? How were Indian rules perceived in the Chinese environment? And how did Chinese lay practitioners react to these rules in the context of the wider Chinese society? As we will see, these questions are central to many discussions of bodily care and appear repeatedly in guidelines and commentaries on cleanliness, purity and respect for each other and for the monastic and lay communities.

1. Toilet practices in *vinaya* texts

Rules and guidelines on toilet practices appear throughout the *vinaya*s: while the rules of the *prātimokṣa*s (lists of precepts) for monks and nuns focus on a clean image of the *saṃgha*, explanatory chapters add a large number of practical instructions on how to make toilet facilities, and on how to use them properly. Once again, we will use the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* as our principal reference and compare it with the other *vinaya*s when necessary.

1.1. **Prātimokṣa** *rules on toilet practices*

Rules on toilet practices are included in the *prātimokṣa* that is recited during the *poṣadha* ceremony. As we will see, the focus is on correct behaviour and decorum. In some rules, improper ways of relieving oneself are even equated with animal behaviour, leaving no doubt that they are to be avoided. For instance, monks are forbidden to relieve themselves on green grass (*śaikṣa* rule 49).[1] This rule's introductory story explains that lay followers consider such behaviour to be common among animals. It therefore harms the name and reputation of the *saṃgha*. There is a very similar prohibition in the rules for nuns, albeit in a higher category: any nun relieving herself on green grass commits a *pācittika* offence.[2] Two distinct reasons are given to justify this relatively strong sanction. The first relates to the extreme embarrassment and damage

to the image of the *saṃgha* that will result if lay followers find their clothes soiled with urine or excrement that nuns have deposited on a grassy spot. The second relates to the fate of the grass that dies (*si* 死) because of contamination by the nuns' urine and excrement. This second point might be linked to Buddhists' desire to respect some of the common convictions of their lay followers, such as a belief in the sentient life of plants.[3]

Lay followers also compare the practice of relieving oneself in water with animals' behaviour (*śaikṣa* 50).[4] It is unclear why this is viewed so critically, although it might have something to do with polluting the water, as this *śaikṣa* rule describes water as *jing* 淨 , 'pure', at one point.[5]

A third and final practice that is compared to animal behaviour is relieving oneself (urinating as well as excreting) while standing.[6] No further explanation is given for this proscription. One is permitted to stand only if it is impossible to remain clean while squatting.

Decorum linked to a clean image and (to a lesser extent) to respect for some ideas that were common among lay followers but not adopted by the Buddhist *dharma* lies at the heart of the above rules relating to toilet practices. In this same vein, the rules for nuns contain one further stipulation that is not included in the rules for monks.[7] This focuses on how to dispose of excrement. As with the previous rules, this one is motivated by the desire to preserve decorum, but it also stresses the importance of not hurting or irritating others. It stipulates that a nun commits a *pācittika* if she relieves herself at night in a pot (*da xiao bian qi* 大小便器 , lit. 'a pot for excrement and urine')[8] and then throws the contents of that pot over a wall without looking the following day.[9] As we will see below, members of the monastic community were certainly familiar with chamber pots, although some passages seem to suggest that their use was restricted to those who were sick. This *pācittika* rule for nuns, however, points to more general use. The introductory story tells how a wealthy person receives all of the filth on his head, which obviously causes considerable indignation, almost to the point of initiating legal action against the nuns. Nevertheless, the nun's carelessness does not lead to an outright ban on throwing excrement over the wall. Instead, it merely results in a stipulation that due care must be taken at all times. So, in future, the nun does not commit any offence if she first looks around carefully during the day, or snaps her fingers or coughs loudly to warn passers-by at night, before disposing of her waste. This compromise solution to avoid causing embarrassment seems to indicate that it was quite common to throw human waste over the wall. Disposal of waste is also permitted in places that are designed – or at least fit – for the purpose, such as on tiles or bricks, stones, tree-trumps and thorns (all explicitly termed 'dirty places'), or into a pool, the edge of a pit or a dunghill.

Clearly, then, the *prātimokṣa* rules on relieving oneself are motivated primarily by a determination to avoid embarrassment, to respect lay people and to preserve a clean image of the *saṃgha*.[10] Human waste has considerable potential to damage this image.[11] In the case of nuns, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* even stipulates that new can-

didates who are unable to control their defecation and urination, or who regularly discharge mucus and saliva, should not be ordained.[12] A nun who knowingly ordains such a candidate commits a *pācittika*.[13] The introductory story for this rule focuses on the fact that such a nun constantly soils her body, robes and sitting material.

Finally, given this constant focus on a clean image, respect and decorum, it should come as no surprise that the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* also contains *śaikṣa* rules that state that one should not relieve oneself under or towards a *stūpa* of the Buddha, or even in the vicinity (*śaikṣa* rules 74, 75, 76).[14] One should also not carry an image of the Buddha to toilet facilities (*śaikṣa* rule 77).[15] Although these *śaikṣa* rules are unique to the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, most *vinaya* traditions include extensive guidelines on the proper respect due to *stūpa*s.[16] Still, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* is the only one that explicitly refers to excrement and urine in this context. It also adds that, having used toilet facilities, one should always wash before carrying a small *stūpa* (in one's hands).[17]

1.2. Practical rules relating to how to make and use toilet facilities

The *vinaya* explanatory chapters, or *skandhaka*s, contain a great deal of practical information on how to make and use toilet facilities. These give the reader extensive guidelines on building techniques and on the use of a variety of tools and utensils.

How to make toilet facilities

The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* provides a quite detailed description of toilet facilities.[18] It says that such facilities are necessary because some monks had been seen by lay women while relieving themselves in the open air, which had forced them to get up quickly.[19] Since they had not finished, they felt considerable pain. This led to the Buddha allowing them to build a toilet house (*ce wu* 廁屋).[20] Originally, this could accommodate only one person at a time, so users needed to queue up. To avoid such situations, more facilities were subsequently allowed in the same building, provided that a dividing wall was constructed between them so that the monks could not see each other. To help older people who might experience difficulties getting to their feet after using the toilet, a railing ran alongside the toilet pit.[21] To prevent users wiping excrement off their hands in the corner of a wall, on a stone or on the grass, the advice is to build a separate washing place (*xi chu* 洗處).

The above description of toilet facilities focuses on excrement, but, similarly, monks are not allowed to urinate wherever they like. Therefore, a urinal (*xiao bian chu* 小便處) must also be constructed. The first step is to dig a hole in the ground and to line the base with stones. Next a bottomless jar is placed on top of the stones, allowing the urine to flow away. Wood is then placed on both sides of the jar. A lid may also be fitted to the top of the urinal to conceal the smell.[22]

How to use toilet and washing facilities

The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* provides extensive details on how to use the toilet and nearby washing facilities in a passage that is specifically dedicated to the subject as well as in numerous shorter guidelines that occur throughout the text.[23] The main passage starts with a brahmin entering the Buddhist community. When he cleans himself with sharp grass – a kind of stick used in the toilet (*ce cao* 廁草) – he injures himself and develops a festering wound.[24] Blood and pus soil his body, clothes and sleeping material. This leads the Buddha to prescribe guidelines for the correct use of toilet facilities. Similar guidelines linked to the story of this brahmin occur in most other *vinaya*s, too.[25] However, the guidelines in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* are markedly different.[26] For this reason, we will discuss them separately, once we have outlined the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*'s stipulations. The latter state that two facilities – one for relieving oneself and one for washing afterwards – should be built close to each other. As general advice, the monks are advised not to delay visiting the toilet. Seniority may be disregarded in these circumstances. The toilet facility should be kept separate from other monastic business and it should be used only for its designed purpose. So it is not a place for chewing tooth wood, sleeping or meditation. Nor should the monks receive or recite texts, walk in meditation, or make clothes in the vicinity as such practices will hinder those who wish to use the toilet.

The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* then goes into much more detail on the time that is spent within the toilet and washing facilities.

Toilet facilities

When arriving at the toilet facilities, the monk should make his presence known to a current user by snapping his fingers or coughing.[27] The toilet might have a door (*hu* 戶), which the monk should avoid touching with his robes.[28] Once inside the toilet, he should not wrap his neck or head when lifting his clothing, nor wear his own sandals. Instead, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* prescribes the wearing of (otherwise forbidden) wooden shoes in both the toilet and the washing facilities.[29] The monk should then put his robe(s) on a peg, a clothes pin[30] or a hanger, or should leave them in a special room.[31] He should not strip naked, however, since he must never display his nakedness when squatting or getting up.[32] It is thus unclear precisely which robe(s) should be placed on a peg, pin or hanger. When in residence, a monk usually wears two robes: an 'upper robe' (*uttarāsaṅga*) and an 'inner robe' (*antarvāsaka*).[33] In addition, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* allows only one robe to be worn in the toilet facilities.[34] This might well be the 'inner robe', with the 'upper robe' removed, but the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* could equally be referring to a special robe that is worn only when using the toilet. In either case, in order to avoid being naked at any stage, the monk gradually squats and pulls up his (inner?) robe. When getting up, he should gradually lower the robe. Attention should also be paid to snakes and insects, which should be chased away. When squatting, the monk should ensure that all excrement,

urine, mucus and saliva fall directly into the pit of the toilet (rather than splashing on the edge).[35] While doing so, he is forbidden to groan.[36] However, this does not constitute a fault if it is done unconsciously. Before rising, the monk should clean himself with a toilet stick,[37] which should measure between one hand span of the Buddha and four finger breadths (the minimum to avoid soiling the hands) in length.[38] C*ha qi* 叉奇 grass, mixed leaves and tree bark should not be used for this purpose.[39] One should also avoid grass soiled with cow dung. New and used toilet wood (with the latter shaken out[40]) must be kept in specially designated places. It should not be disposed of in the cesspool.[41] Finally, if the toilet is dirty, one should clean it.[42]

Special arrangements are made for a monk who is ill. A toilet hole may be dug close to his room for his use. If he is unable to leave his room, a chamber pot may be placed inside the room.[43] If he cannot get out of bed, a hole should be made in the bed and a chamber pot placed beneath it.

Washing facilities

As we have seen above, washing facilities are closely connected to toilet facilities, and the two share some guidelines: a monk should make his presence known by snapping his fingers; he should chase away any snakes or insects; avoid nakedness; and remain silent. Other guidelines are more specific to washing facilities: a monk should not wash himself in the middle of the water basin, and he should always leave at least enough water for the next user.[44] If he sees that the basin is empty, he should add more water. After cleaning himself, he should wipe away the water carefully, so as not to soil his clothes or body. He can do this with his hand, with leaves or with other items. If his hands are dirty, he should wash them with alkaline soil (*lu tu* 鹵土),[45] ashes (*hui* 灰),[46] mud (*ni* 泥) or cow dung (*niu shi* 牛屎).[47] He should use a stone, a brick (*tu ji* 土墼) or bath beans (*zao dou* 澡豆) to eliminate odours.[48]

Toilet practices in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*

The above Dharmaguptaka rules provide a great deal of practical information, with a focus on cleanliness and avoiding embarrassment. The same is true of all other *vinayas*, with the exception of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*.[49] Although the story of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* is related to the above concepts, it places much more emphasis on the brahmin's quest for purity. The guidelines are still highly detailed, but the focus shifts almost entirely to the process of washing the body while somewhat neglecting other aspects of toilet business. As we will see, the Mūlasarvāstivāda account describes a quasi-ritualized process, with a set number of utensils and a series of actions performed in a strict order. It tells the story of a brahmin who goes in search of a group that values purity. He visits several, but each time learns that there is no washing facility specifically designated for use after visiting the toilet. Instead, he is forced to wash himself in a pool using many balls of earth, but this leaves him

feeling uncomfortable. When he sees the Buddha's disciple Śāriputra carrying a bottle of water to a toilet place, he decides to investigate what the monk is up to. Śāriputra spots the brahmin and realizes that he is searching for purity, so he continues with his usual routine. First, he takes off his regular robe (*fa fu* 法服) and puts it aside. Dressed in an undercloth (*xia qun* 下裙) and a *saṃghāṭī* (*sengjiaoqi* 僧脚攲), he makes his way to the toilet.[50] Outside the toilet, he places two rows of seven lumps of earth, plus one extra lump, on a brick and grounds them into powder. Then he enters the toilet with a piece of wood and three more lumps of the earth powder. Leaving the door open so that the brahmin can watch him, Śāriputra relieves himself and then wipes his body with the wooden stick. Next he washes his bottom with the first lump of earth, held in his left hand, uses the second lump to wash his genitals, and finally uses the third lump to wash his left hand. Once he has finished, he picks up the water jar with his right hand and returns to the brick and the fifteen lumps of ground-up earth. He squats down, places the jar on his left thigh, and washes his left hand with water from the jar and the first seven lumps of earth. Then he uses the next seven lumps to clean both of his hands and his arms, and the final one to wash the jar. Having donned his robe, he washes his feet. Finally, he rinses his mouth three times. After watching this elaborate procedure, the brahmin decides to join the Buddhist community, whereupon Śāriputra explains what his obligations will be. In conclusion, the Buddha praises the limitless importance of purity (*qing jing* 清景) in monastic discipline.[51]

This Mūlasarvāstivāda story obviously shifts the emphasis from cleanliness to purity. While the former relates to being free from dirt in a context of respect and decorum, the latter relates to freedom from both physical and moral pollution. It combines external and internal features, on a personal as well as a community level. The brahmin wants to be clean, but he also links this cleanliness to his desire to go forth and to achieve a certain spiritual goal. This is acknowledged by Śāriputra and confirmed by the Buddha.[52] At the same time, we see a ritualized process, expressed through the use of a set number of objects and a strict sequence of actions.[53]

It is no coincidence that a brahmin is used to expound the idea of purity. Brahmins appear frequently in Buddhist texts, often as the main interlocutors of Buddhist monastics.[54] For brahmins, 'purity' and an ascetic lifestyle that helps to realize it are crucial elements of life. They protect the integrity of the body and – since the body is part of social life – help to maintain social order.[55] Furthermore, good acts – which can mean anything from morally correct acts to more neutral acts of decorum (such as washing oneself) – purify the soul so that the soul can free itself from the body at death: 'The soul is to be cleaned and so fitted for eternal bliss.'[56] In addition, the purity of the body is extended to one's own community, as a means of protecting it against social disorder. Brahmins will be attracted to Buddhism by convincing them of a different interpretation of such concepts as 'the soul' and 'eternal bliss', but also, as demonstrated in the above story, by concurring with them on at least one crucial practice – the pursuit of purity. Once again, specific practices form a bridge between

different life options, easing the passage for any brahmins who might be interested in joining or supporting the Buddhist movement.

1.3. Toilet practices in vinaya *texts: concluding remarks*

The above disciplinary guidelines indicate that the main concerns of *vinaya* teachers were the image and decorum of the *saṃgha* and the obligatory respect for lay and monastic supporters. Showing disrespect to the lay community naturally destroys the image of cleanliness that the *saṃgha* likes to project, while showing disrespect to one's own community is equally damaging, especially when it is noticed by lay followers. Consequently, defecating in the vicinity of a *stūpa* is totally despicable as it not only threatens the inner monastic cohesion that is generated around a central material expression of the Buddhist path but undermines the respect for and trustworthiness of the Buddhist community among lay society. In the same context of maintaining a clean image of the *saṃgha*, members of the monastic community should always try to avoid shame and embarrassment.

In addition to being an issue of decorum, relieving oneself is obviously also a private matter: it is something that people want to conceal from others. It is done alone, in silence, and with cleaning utensils and washing facilities readily to hand, so as not to be seen, heard or smelled. This privacy is crucial, as defecating is a quite embarrassing business, which inevitably involves filth, something one does not want others to notice. It undermines both self-respect and respect for one's fellow monks and nuns. Consequently, toilet pits must be separated by dividing walls, as loss of dignity will obviously ensue if one shows one's waste to someone else, even a member of the same community. In this context, it is important to remember that external cleanliness is often directly linked with inner purity, a 'physiomoral' discourse that was mentioned in the first chapter of this book. Cleanliness thus becomes moralized: it is no longer merely a sign of decorum and respect, but of purity, too. Being physically pure consequently acquires paramount importance. This aspect of purity receives special attention in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (which has much less to say on cleaning, decorum or respect). Through a strict numbering and sequencing of utensils and actions, it outlines a quasi-ritual process with purity at the centre of monastic discipline. As we will see below, this aspect of purity will subsequently be emphasized by many Chinese masters, too.

The principal concerns of the *vinaya* guidelines, then, relate to decorum, respect and purity. By contrast, health is much less important to the authors. Monks are instructed to take care when cleaning themselves to avoid injury, but this is mentioned only briefly, so it is safe to say that health and hygiene were not major motivations behind the promotion of good toilet practice. Nevertheless, if followed closely, many of the detailed stipulations outlined in the *vinaya* texts will surely have helped monastics to maintain good health.

The quest for external cleanliness could potentially be seen as contradictory when compared with Buddhist body-meditation, with its focus on repulsiveness.[57] However, as Steven Collins explains, while the inner meditative reflection of a monk or a nun emphasizes the impurity and impermanence of the body, his or her social position requires what he calls 'a spotless' performance.[58] This tension is obviously heightened when products such as excrement and urine are involved. While these smelly substances constitute foci of meditation on the repulsiveness of the body, proper behaviour, defined in all its detail, assures the community of a virtuous decorum while confronted with the inescapable physical aspects of daily life. This kind of decorum becomes 'empirical evidence of a monk's internal state'.[59] The internal mental condition of a monk or a nun, and by extension of the whole Buddhist community, can be inferred from outward behaviour, because external features express internal ones. Such features of bodily care are apparent in several *vinaya* passages, and are further emphasized in the Chinese Buddhist monastic context.

2. Toilet habits in Chinese *vinaya* commentaries and disciplinary guidelines

Vinaya rules and stipulations became widely known after the first four full *vinaya*s were translated in China in the early fifth century, and Chinese masters soon started to write their own commentaries and additions. Furthermore, some monks were so eager to learn more about the homeland of the Buddha that they decided to travel all the way to India, often in search of what they considered to be correct practices.

2.1. Practical rules on how to make and use toilet facilities

Shortly after the *vinaya* translations started to circulate in fifth-century China, new Chinese manuals were written to provide the growing Chinese monastic community with the best possible guidelines. One well-known text is the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀, *Great* (*Sūtra*) *of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*, probably compiled in the fifth century.[60] In this work, dignity is again connected directly to cleanliness, with a focus on three crucial aspects: a clean body, a clean mouth and clean clothes.[61] Cleaning the body entails washing 'the places of urine and excrement' and cutting one's nails. Cleaning the mouth is achieved by chewing a tooth wood, rinsing the mouth and scraping the tongue. It is impossible to participate fully in the activities of the *saṃgha* without a clean body. A dirty monk cannot serve the abbot, nor greet the Three Jewels (*dharma*, *Buddha*, *saṃgha*). And even if he participates in a ceremony, he will not accrue any merit.[62] Finally, in addition to allowing an individual monk to increase his personal merit, cleanliness is thought to protect the *saṃgha* and its rules.[63]

On the use of the toilet itself, the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* enumerates twenty-five guidelines.[64] These clearly demand respect and decency – for oneself, for others and,

by extension, for the whole *saṃgha*. The stipulations are as follows: en route to the toilet, a monk should not greet the abbot (1), nor receive others' greetings (2); when entering the toilet, he should lower his head, face the ground (3) and snap his fingers (4); if someone is already in the toilet facilities, the newly arrived monk should not rush him with his snapping (5); once inside, the monk should stop snapping his fingers and squat (6), very steadily (7); he should not put one foot in front of the other (8), nor lean against anything (9); he should hold up his clothes so they do not fall in the toilet (10); he should never push (lit. 'swallow deep') to such an extent that he becomes red in the face (11); he should look ahead, never around while listening (to others) (12); he should not spit against the wall (13), nor look into the toilet pot (14); he should not watch his penis (15), nor hold it in his hand (16); he should not use the toilet stick to write on the ground (17) or the walls (18); he should not waste water while washing himself (19), nor splash the water around (20); when washing, he should make sure that his hands do not touch each other (21); he should use (lumps of) earth three times (22) and bath beans (23); he should rinse himself three times with water (24); if he notices an absence of water, sticks or (lumps of) earth, he should alert whoever is responsible for the toilet facilities that day, or simply take care of it himself (25).[65]

The *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*'s focus on respect, decency and cleanliness also inspired Daoist authors. The compiler of the seventh-century *Shenren shuo sanyuan weiyi guanxing jing* 神人說三元威儀觀行經, *Scripture of Behavioural Observation Based on the Dignified Observances of the Three Primes Revealed by the Spirit Man*, even copied its twenty-five guidelines in their entirety, just as he had done with most of the bathing practices.[66] Other early Daoist manuals also contain guidelines on how to use the toilet. The seventh-century *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始, *Practical Introduction to the Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao of the Three Caverns Contained in the Mystery Cavern of Numinous Treasure* (DZ 1125, fasc. 760–761), for instance, prescribes that all Daoist institutions should be built near fresh water and provide both toilet facilities and a bathhouse.[67] The toilet facilities should consist of 'a more or less shallow pit [dug out] from the earth with a small hut erected over it',[68] and must be kept spotlessly clean (3.9b–10a).

In addition to cleanliness, purity lies at the heart of Daoist guidelines on correct toilet behaviour, especially in the seventh-century *Dongxuan lingbao daoxue keyi* 洞玄靈寶道學科儀, *Rules and Observances for Students of the Dao, Contained in the Mystery Cavern of Numinous Treasure* (DZ 1126, fasc. 761, 2.12a–b).[69] When using toilet facilities, a monk should first leave his outer robe outside and then chant purification incantations when entering. He should use the facilities with care, while honouring the gods. Finally, he should clean his hands in a water basin placed outside the door and dry them with a clean towel. Only then should he don his robe again.[70] As the incantations and the honouring of the gods demonstrate, cleanliness and internal virtue are closely linked. The appeal to the gods also underscores that physical purity was not just a matter of personal care but, as formulated by Livia Kohn, allowed 'a

self-realization that was both physical and transcendent by placing the ordinary tasks of bodily hygiene into a cosmic context and by seeing themselves as realizing a form of celestial purity on earth'.[71]

2.2. Toilet care for Chinese vinaya *masters*

When discussing toilet facilities, the *vinaya*s introduce several different themes. They take into account cleanliness, purity and bodily care but also offer practical guidelines and rules for respectful behaviour. These concerns also appear in later texts written by Chinese Buddhist commentators and teachers. As we saw in Chapter I, the most prominent monk with respect to disciplinary matters is undoubtedly Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), who is known mainly for his commentaries on the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*. In what follows, we concentrate on Daoxuan's reflections on the use of the toilet in his most famous commentary, the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, *A Transcription of Abridged Revisions in the Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1804, p.148a5–17). Not surprisingly, Daoxuan generally takes the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* as his reference point, highlighting its prescriptions and reiterating its focus on cleanliness and avoidance of embarrassment. However, on use of the urinal pot, he relies on the *Mahīśāsakavinaya*.[72] He also explicitly states that nudity should always be avoided when using the toilet, while being careful not to dirty one's clothes. The concept of purity arises when he refers to the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, stating that a monk who does not wash himself cannot use the sitting material of the *saṃgha* (by which Daoxuan probably means anything to sit on, often rugs), and, more importantly, will not enjoy any benefit when greeting the abbot or the Three Jewels.[73]

In addition to his *vinaya* commentaries, Daoxuan dedicated himself to the compilation of manuals. He even drew a diagram of an ideal monastic compound, based on the Indian Jetavana monastery.[74] Here, although the toilet building is situated on the edge of the monastery, it is still clearly situated within the main compound.[75] In his manuals, Daoxuan also explains at some length how to behave as a member of a monastic community, including when using the toilet. These rules are especially useful for newcomers, as explained in detail in Daoxuan's *Jiaojie xin xue biqiu xing hu lu yi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀, *To Explain to Young Monks How to Protect the Vinaya Rules* (T.1897). Many of this manual's guidelines on use of the toilet echo the *vinaya*s' prescriptions, and they emphasize the same topics.[76] However, as we will see, they also introduce some strikingly original ideas, particularly with respect to putting general concepts into practice.

Daoxuan first stresses that it is essential to maintain decorum (*yize* 儀廁, lit. 'model of conduct'): monastics should show respect towards each other and for the *saṃgha*. A monk's personal conduct is thus a matter of major concern. For instance, when carrying a water bottle to the toilet, it should be held in both hands, and the hands should never be allowed to drop. Before entering the toilet, the monk should snap

his fingers or cough as a signal to anyone who might already be inside. Prior to relieving himself, he should squat and lift his robe gradually, to avoid being naked. More than the *vinaya*s, Daoxuan emphasizes hierarchy when he recommends that junior monks should avoid going to the toilet if they know that their seniors are already there. Decorum is also linked to avoiding accidents, with Daoxuan suggesting that a toilet stick (*ce chou* 廁籌) should be scraped around the toilet hole at night to gauge its shape: is it narrow or broad, long or short, straight or curved? Help should also be offered to others: if someone is waiting outside the toilet and urgently needs to go, whoever is currently occupying the toilet should get out immediately, even if he has not finished.

Daoxuan leaves the reader in no doubt that cleanliness is linked to respect, and he places particular emphasis on personal washing and keeping the toilet facilities clean. However, he is ambiguous about use of the toilet stick, leaving the reader unsure whether it might be used to scrape oneself clean (as was the practice in India) or should be used only for the night-time task described above. Either way, a used stick should always be thrown into the toilet pit. One should not keep it in a jug or place it on the wooden board that surrounds the toilet. Interestingly, this latter guideline is contrary to what the *vinaya*s prescribe. As indicated above, they state that toilet sticks should *never* be thrown in the cesspool. By amending this rule, Daoxuan clearly gives cleanliness a higher priority than the possibly inconvenient effects of a build-up of wood in a cesspool. Keeping the facilities clean also involves not spitting on the wooden board or in the middle of what Daoxuan calls *niao ta* 尿闥,[77] which might be interpreted as 'a narrow room (*ta*) for urine (*niao*)' – that is, a urinal. When using water, the monk should not splash it in the toilet pit or on the board. Special footwear is clearly to be worn in the toilet facilities, since Daoxuan writes that, if a monk removes his 'toilet shoes' (*chu lü* 觸履, lit. 'shoes that touch (dirt)'), he should not place them where anyone might walk with clean shoes. If his toilet shoes are dirty, the monk should wash them. Not surprisingly, Daoxuan also stipulates that if a user notices that the toilet facilities (either inside or outside) are in disorder, he should sweep and clean them. He should also ensure that the place where the ashes and earth (for hand-washing) are stored remains clean, and that 'the wiping cloth' (*shi jin* 拭巾) is cleaned when necessary. (The function of this 'wiping cloth' remains unclear, but as it is mentioned in the same context as hand-cleansing ashes and earth, monks possibly used it to wipe their hands.)

Daoxuan stipulates that a monk should wash himself with water from a jug seven times after visiting the toilet. (This gives water a much more central role than was the case in the Indian *vinaya*s.) When washing his hands, a monk should first use three portions of 'yellow earth' (*huang tu* 黃土)[78] and then fine ashes (*hui* 灰) or pods (*jia* 莢).[79] Notice that precise numbers are given here, as was the case in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. However, as Daoxuan does this in only two of his guidelines, we cannot classify this as a ritual practice. Instead, he probably simply wished to stress that a quick wash was insufficient. He warns that an unwashed monk is not allowed to use the sleeping or sitting material of the *saṃgha* (generally meaning rugs),

and insists that there should always be a good supply of toilet sticks, ashes and earth to allow thorough washing to take place.

Finally, at the end of his account on use of the toilet, Daoxuan introduces a completely new proscription when he says that a monk should not clean himself with old paper containing writing. Obviously, this indicates the possibly widespread use of toilet paper, but it also reveals a deep respect for text material, which should never be soiled or wasted.[80] By the time Buddhism was arriving in China, the Chinese already had a long tradition of writing, collecting and preserving texts. These were highly respected for their content and admired for their calligraphy. This was also true for Buddhist texts, which were collected into large anthologies, while some monasteries constructed impressive libraries.[81] Moreover, this tradition fused with the Buddhist idea of merit: from approximately the first century CE, the idea grew that copying Buddhist texts could significantly increase the transcriber's merit, and protect him or her from disaster in this life or the next. The merit gained could even be transferred to the transcriber's relatives. This so-called 'cult of the book' seems to have emerged in a body of texts generally placed in the category Mahāyāna Buddhism.[82] The book had thus become a physical object of worship, sometimes even compared to the Buddha himself, as is the case, for instance, in the very popular *Lotus Sūtra*.[83] Given this context, it is hardly surprising that Daoxuan forbids the use of text material as toilet paper, as such a practice would clearly be disrespectful towards writing. He was also not the first to tackle this subject. The sixth-century scholar Yan Zhitui 顔之推 (531–ca. 591), an expert in Chinese Confucian Classics and a devout Buddhist, wrote that he would never soil paper on which were written quotations or commentaries from the *Five Classics* or the names of sages.[84] In this way he shows his respect for books, and for those who write them.[85]

In conclusion, we can see that many *vinaya* elements reappear in Daoxuan's commentary, with respect and cleanliness clearly of utmost importance. In this sense, his guidelines are very similar to those of the *vinaya*s. Yet, there are some striking contrasts too, and even some entirely new elements. Although the general attitude remains largely the same – albeit with a stronger emphasis on hierarchy – Daoxuan's novel guidelines are noteworthy: for instance, when he suggests using the toilet stick to gauge the shape of the toilet pit and then disposing of it in the cesspool (contrary to the advice given in the *vinaya*s). Such innovations seem to be linked to an overriding concern for cleanliness in the toilet facilities. Similarly, Daoxuan also describes a wooden board that surrounds the toilet pit, advocates using more water in the cleaning process than was recommended by his Indian predecessors, and mentions a cloth that was presumably used to wipe the hands. (The latter reappears in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, although this was translated after Daoxuan's demise.) Finally, there is the striking mention of toilet paper, which Daoxuan does not prohibit, as long as it does not contain any writing.

2.3. *Toilet habits in Yijing's travel account*

In addition to guidelines written by commentators and teachers, travel accounts from some enterprising monks can provide some very interesting information, as long as they are approached with caution (see the Introduction). As mentioned above, of all these travellers, it was the monk Yijing 義淨 (635–713) who commented most extensively on the daily practices of monastics. Answering the call of nature was obviously one of these activities, as much for those monks who lived in monasteries as for those on the road. So it should come as no surprise that Yijing devotes a rather long passage of his travel account to this topic.[86] First, he provides detailed guidelines that are clearly based on the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, and specifically on the story of the brahmin and Śāriputra (see above). However, Yijing also introduces some ideas of his own. In line with the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, he advocates the wearing of a *xi yu zhi qun* 洗浴之裙, 'bathing cloth' (for the lower part of the body), and a *sengjiaoqi* 僧腳崎, *saṃghāṭī*, when visiting the toilet. The monk should take a toilet jar filled with water and close the door behind himself. Outside the toilet, he should place lumps of earth on a brick or a small wooden board. When entering the toilet, he should take three more lumps of earth powder inside with him, as indicated in the *vinaya*. At this point, though, Yijing deviates slightly from the *vinaya*'s prescribed method. While the *vinaya* mentions wiping the body with a wooden stick, Yijing says the first lump of earth should be used for this purpose. Then, using the left hand, the monk should wash first with water, then with a mixture of the second lump of earth and water. Finally, the left hand is given a quick wash with the third lump. Only after giving these instructions does Yijing mention that monks are also permitted to take some pieces of wood into the toilet room. If these are used for cleaning, they should not be thrown into the latrine, but rather placed to the side. Interestingly, Yijing also mentions the use of toilet paper, which the monks are allowed to throw in the latrine.[87]

After washing, a monk should straighten his robes with his right hand, open the door and carry the water jar out with him. He should hold the jar with his left arm, and close the door with his right hand. Once outside, he should squat down at the brick/board where he previously deposited the lumps of earth. There he should wash himself (using only his left hand) with the first seven lumps of earth, then clean both hands with the remaining seven lumps, precisely as described in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. The brick/board should be washed clean, and a final lump of earth used to wash the jar, the arms, the thighs and the feet. Only then may the monk leave the toilet facilities.

Yijing also provides some instructions on how to clean the mouth: after returning to his room, a monk should rinse his mouth with fresh water (water from the toilet jar is unsuitable for this purpose). If he has touched the jar prior to finishing, he should wash his hands and rinse his mouth once more. Finally – writing on a topic that is not touched upon in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* – Yijing suggests that one or two lumps of earth are sufficient to wash the hand and the body after a visit to the urinal.

As mentioned above, Yijing relies heavily on the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, so, inevitably, he shares the *vinaya*'s focus on purity. Any monk who does not wash does not deserve a seat in the monastery; nor can he worship the Three Jewels. Purity is essential.[88] Irrespective of this, however, Yijing insists that the above rules have not yet been introduced in China. Moreover, he claims that, if they had been, Chinese monks would have detested them.[89] He blames this situation on the Mahāyāna concept of emptiness: since the distinction between pure and impure is unclear, why would one wash the outside when the inside is full of filth?[90] Here, Yijing is referring to, and indeed combining, two distinct concepts. First, there is the concept of emptiness, in which sense nothing is inherently pure or impure. Yijing complains that this neutralization of the difference between purity and impurity leads to neglect of the body and a lack of respect for rules, the Buddha and the community. Second, he refers to the aforementioned idea of repulsiveness: since the inside is full of filth, what is the point of washing the outside? As with emptiness, this concept eventually leads to neglect of the body.[91] Yijing then lists several specific problems that result from adherence to these two concepts.[92] Monks not washing themselves go against the rules and therefore violate Buddhist teaching. They incur guilt when saluting someone or receiving a salutation – a clear lack of respect. And they open themselves to criticism and ridicule, which obviously hinders the dissemination of the Buddha's teachings. Instead, monks should present themselves as true followers of Śākyamuni and his *vinaya*.

Having issued this stern lecture on why monks should follow all of his precepts on bodily care, Yijing offers some additional advice, and finally displays a little flexibility. In the cold season, a monk may use warm water. In the other seasons, he can do as he wishes.[93] Similarly, when Yijing refers to wiping with a tube, a trough or a piece of silk (something he must have noticed in China), he does not explicitly prohibit the practice, even though he admits it is not based on any *vinaya* text.[94] (However, in a note on his translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, he expresses regret about such deviation.[95]) He does strictly forbid leaving the toilet with water in the mouth, insists that every monastery should have toilet facilities, and demands that these should be kept clean. He suggests that workers should be asked to build such facilities, but too much money should not be spent on them. A big trough capable of holding one or two *shi* 石 should be placed outside the toilet (*qing* 圊) and filled with earth (*tu* 土).[96] If a monk does not have a water jar (*shui ping* 水瓶), he may use a pot made of porcelain or earth. Yijing then emphasizes that washing with the right hand is perfectly acceptable, a rather strange statement for someone who generally follows the *vinaya* very closely. All of the *vinaya*s differentiate between the left hand (used to clean) and the right hand (used to eat), yet this seems irrelevant to Yijing, probably because he is addressing Chinese readers who eat with chopsticks (another practice with which he has no problem).[97]

Yijing finally provides some valuable details about how toilets were actually built and used in seventh-century China. For instance, in the region of the Yangtze and the Huai rivers, he says that many toilets are made out of earthen pots buried in the

ground. However, he advises against washing near them. Instead, he advocates the construction of separate washing places, preferably adjacent to running water.[98] He also indicates that the basic rules for building toilets are followed at four monasteries he knows, but not the rules on preparing water and earth.[99] Both of these should be provided in a jar, and a pot with a spout should be employed when filling the jar with water. A (copper) bottle with a lid over the mouth should not be used for washing. Instead, a small hole should be made in the bottle so that water may be poured out of it.

In conclusion, Yijing's interest in the construction and management of (especially large) monasteries within a framework of meticulously compiled guidelines is fully in line with a developing genre in China – the so-called *qing gui* 清規, 'rules of purity'. As we will see in the next section, these rules similarly contain detailed stipulations on the use of toilet facilities.

3. A new genre develops: *qing gui* 清規 , 'rules of purity'

As we have seen, both the *vinaya*s and the early Chinese masters focus on decorum, respect and purity. In the Song dynasty, these elements recur in many compilations of guidelines written by prominent masters of newly established schools or lineages. One such outstanding master is the Tiantai monk Zunshi 遵式 (964–1032), who wrote extensive guidelines on how to organize his monastery. In his *Tianzhu bieji* 天竺別集, *A Compilation for the Tianzhu Monastery*, he included a passage entitled *Zuan shi shang ce fangfa* 纂示上廁方法 , *Compilation to Show the Correct Method of Using the Latrine*, in which he referred to earlier guidelines drafted by the Nanshan School, founded by the famous *vinaya* master Daoxuan, and to the aforementioned *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*.[100] Several of Zunshi's regulations also appear in the so-called 'rules of purity', *qing gui* 清規, which first emerged in the eighth century, particularly among Chan monastics. The goal of these rules is the practical organization of large public monasteries, so they discuss many daily activities, including visiting the toilet. The oldest extant code, the *Chanyuan qing gui* 禪苑清規, *The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, compiled by Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗賾 (?–1107?) in 1103, discusses the use of latrines in some detail.[101] This text relies heavily on the *vinaya*s, on early Chinese commentaries and on the guidelines compiled by Zunshi.[102] Nevertheless, it also displays considerable evolution from the earlier periods in terms of both the physical aspects of toilet facilities and attitudes towards their use.

The toilet guidelines that are contained within the *Chanyuan qing gui* focus on cleanliness, respect and decorum, in much the same way as earlier texts did. Here, though, specific details of toilet use become much more important. For instance, special attention is paid to the robes, which have to be kept as clean as possible. First of all, the standard monastic robe, the *kāṣāya*, should be removed before going to the toilet. In its place, the monk must wear a *guazi* 掛子, lit. 'hanging cloth', which is worn in Chan monasteries during communal labour.[103] The monk also has to take a clean

towel (*jing bu* 淨布) with him to the toilet. Once at the latrine, he should hang the *guazi* and the towel over a clean pole, roll up his underskirt (*qun* 裙),[104] fold his short gown (*pianshen* 偏衫),[105] and place these two items in front of the latrine. These regulations demonstrate that monastics had three robes: a *guazi*, an underskirt and a gown, with the latter two being worn under the *guazi*. While a kind of underclothing had previously been worn in India, the short gown seems to have developed in China from the third century onwards. The short gown covers both shoulders. When removed and placed in front of the latrine, the underskirt and the short gown should be tied together with the monk's belt, which is used to identify his belongings.[106] When entering the latrine, he should carry a water vessel and remove his shoes.

As can be seen from the above guidelines, clean robes are essential, even to the extent that monks are urged to remove all of their clothes when at the toilet. Of course, this encouragement of nakedness runs counter to earlier *vinaya* rules.[107] A monk should clean himself with water, holding the water jug in his right hand and pouring the water into his left. He should take care not to splash the water around. Interestingly, the text adds that it is better to use cold water (*leng shui* 冷水), since warm water (*re tang* 熱湯) provokes 'intestinal wind' (*chang feng* 腸風).[108] Monks should also use a wooden stick (*chou* 籌), probably to clean themselves. After use, this stick should be washed. When washing his hands, a monk should first use ashes (*hui* 灰), then earth (*tu* 土). Thereafter, he should go to the washing place behind the latrine and clean himself further with bath beans (*zao jia zao dou* 皂莢澡豆).[109] He is instructed to wash up to the elbows and also rinse his mouth. Afterwards, he should don his clothes again, including the *kāṣāya*.[110] The *Chanyuan qing gui* also refers to a place that is specifically designated for urination. Here, a monk must roll up his clothes and squat. He should not spit, blow his nose or talk while urinating.

The above focus on cleanliness is strongly connected to the call for respect for the *saṃgha*. In this context, the *Chanyuan qing gui* refers to the *vinaya* texts, and states that a monk who has not washed thoroughly cannot sit on a *saṃgha*'s platform or bow to the Three Jewels.[111] But it owes an even greater debt to the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, a heritage that is apparent when the *Chanyuan qing gui* states that the monk should not receive bows from others. Even more, he is not allowed to pass through the main shrine en route to the latrine.[112] Respect is also due to senior monks, who should never have to wait to use the urinals. Finally, a monk should snap his fingers three times before entering the toilet. However, contrary to the *vinaya*s, this is not done to warn fellow monks, but rather to alert hungry ghosts that feed on excrement.[113]

A respectful attitude, as described above, is closely linked to the dignity of the *saṃgha*, a state that is maintained by the observance of proper etiquette, defined by myriad rules relating to politeness and decency. For instance, monks are not allowed to spread mucus or spit, or to make excessive noise. Annoying fellow monks is strongly criticized, so it is inappropriate to urge someone who is using the toilet to hurry up. In the same vein, anyone using the toilet who realizes that someone is wait-

ing outside should try to finish as soon as possible. This emphasis on decency extends to not making fun of anyone and indeed to talking only when necessary.[114] Disobeying these precepts would display a lack of respect for the *saṃgha*. It is further stipulated that wooden sticks (*ce chou* 廁籌) should not be used to draw on the floor, door or walls, which again strongly echoes some of the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*'s guidelines.[115]

Similar instructions are given repeatedly over the next few centuries, particularly in several influential *qing gui* texts compiled in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[116] which create a framework for all future monastic organization in China: the late thirteenth-century text *Conglin jiaoding qing gui zongyao* 叢林校定清規總要, *Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries*, compiled by the monk Jinhua Weimian 金華惟勉 (W 112, pp.52b13–53a8), the *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* 禪林備用清規, *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, compiled in 1311 by the monk Zeshan Yixian 澤山弌咸 (W 112, p.114a6–10, p.139a7–b2), and the highly influential *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*, compiled by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between 1335 and 1343 (T.2025, p.1133a14–18; p.1145b16–c6).[117] However, these three texts go further than the *Chanyuan qing gui* in emphasizing the importance of purity, and all insist that a 'toilet incantation' (*ru ce zhen yan* 入廁真言) should always be recited when visiting the toilet.[118] When giving this instruction, the *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* quotes from the *Yingluo jing* 瓔珞經, a Mahāyāna text of moral guidelines that was probably compiled in China in the fifth century, shortly after the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra*.[119] The surviving *Yingluo jing* text (T.1485), however, does not contain the quotation cited in the *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui*. According to Dongyang Dehui, it says: 'Whoever goes to the toilet (*hun* 溷) and does not recite these magic sentences will never be able to purify himself [...]. No matter how often he goes to the shrine hall to worship, it will be of no use. Therefore, one must uphold [the magic sentences] and recite them seven times at every occasion. In this way, the ghosts and the spirits will always accompany and protect [the one who is reciting].'[120] There can be no doubt about Dongyang Dehui's message: external purity is the inevitable counterpart of internal purity. This fits very well into the more general picture of the body as a bag of filth, a constant threat that one must do one's best to control at all times. In this sense, bodily secretions represent not only physical but mental and spiritual weakness.[121]

Finally, purity is also the main focus of a lengthy exposition on the lavatory written by the thirteenth-century Japanese monk Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) in his *Shōbō genzo* 正法眼藏, *Eye of the Treasury of the Right Dharma*. Again, this text is closely related to the *Chanyuan qing gui*.[122] Purity is clearly given a primordial role when Dōgen refers to a central *sūtra* in Chinese Buddhism, the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, *Flower Garland Sūtra*, the complete text of which has been translated twice: once by Buddhabhadra, in 418–420 (T.278), and once by Śikṣānanda at the end of the seventh century (T.279). The passage quoted by Dōgen urges those relieving and washing themselves (silently) to express a wish for all sentient beings to be

free from defilement.[123] When explaining the correct procedure for hand-washing, Dōgen again refers to the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, with a vow that all sentient beings should have the finest hands to receive the teachings of the Buddha.[124] External and internal purity – in oneself and others – are closely linked. Throughout his exposition, Dōgen, who travelled to China between 1223 and 1227, severely criticizes Chinese monks for not respecting this basic knowledge, which again shows a perpetual concern for purity that has now transferred to Japanese Zen monasteries.

This concern for the preservation of tradition is also visible in attempts to reproduce the architecture of Chinese Chan monasteries faithfully. Although Dōgen probably never made a sketch of a Chinese monastery himself, some of his disciples, and those of other masters, did. A number of these ground plans and designs have survived and show us where the many facilities of several Chinese monasteries were located. One very detailed compilation of such plans is known as the *Gozan jissatsu zu* 五山十刹図, *Illustrations of the Five Mountains and the Ten Temples*, which is thought to be based on an original of around 1250.[125] The compilation includes sketches of many individual buildings, including latrines and urinals. The most detailed sketch of a latrine is that of the Jinshan 金山 monastery (see Fig. 4), one of the most important Chinese Chan monasteries, in present-day Jiangsu province. Over the door of the building there is a caption reading *dongsi* 東司, lit. 'east office'.[126] On the right-hand side, there are eighteen cubicles, each with an incense burner in front of the door. In the middle of the room, there is a large incense stand. On the left-hand side, there are a number of urinals,[127] some water basins, ladles and wooden tubs to carry the water. Also on the left-hand side are pumice stones in the shape of fish, containers for ashes (*hui* 灰), earth (*tu* 土) and bath beans (*zao dou* 澡豆) that are used to clean the hands. There is a rail running down the length of the centre of the hall for the hanging of towels, robes and identification tags. Wet towels may be dried on stoves and drying racks. Five lanterns are used to light the room. Standing in the opposite corner of the room from the door are a furnace and a cauldron (with a lid – *sui shou fu huo gai* 隨手覆鑊蓋, 'a lid (*gai*) at hand (*sui shou*) to cover (*fu*) the cauldron (*hu*)'), which are used to heat the water, as stipulated by the *qing gui* rules.[128] Beside the furnace is the office of the fireman, the person who stokes the fire (*huo tou liao* 火頭寮).

In comparison with the latrine of the Jinshan monastery, the urinal facilities (*xiao yi chu* 小遺处) of the Jiangshan 蔣山 monastery, also situated in present-day Jiangsu, are relatively simple. The *Gozan jissatsu zu* provides a sketch (Fig. 5) that shows two rows of urinals, one of five and one of six, with each urinal six *cun* 寸 wide.[129]

4. Concluding remarks: pigsties, paper and wiping sticks

From the time of the *vinaya* texts until the compilation of the 'rules of purity', the building of toilet facilities was clearly a matter of considerable concern for the monastic community. Detailed guidelines were provided, and these reveal a quite sophisticated system of waste control. The *vinaya* texts contain instructions on how to build

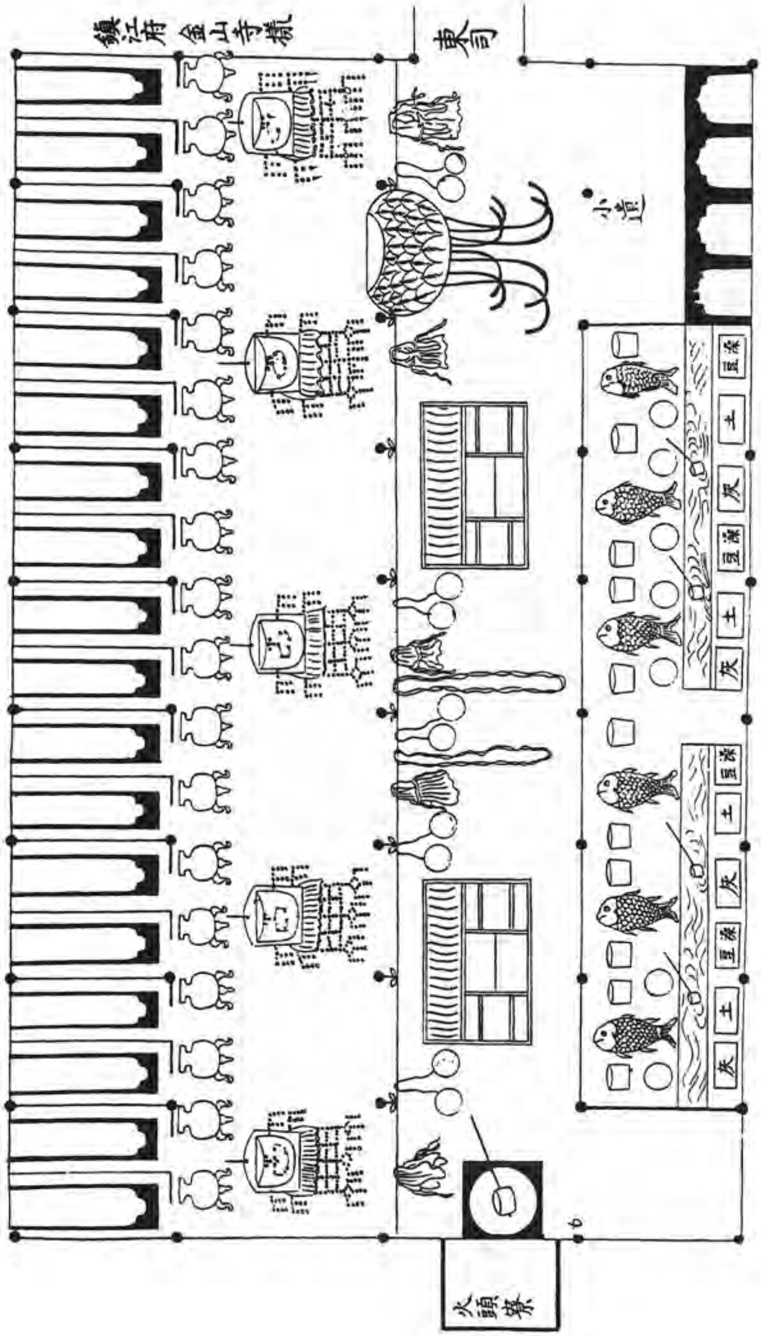


Figure 4. The Latrine at Jinshan

After Zhang Shiqing 张十庆 , *Wu shan shi cha tu yu Nan Song Jiangnan chan si* 五山十刹图与南宋江南禅寺 (Plans of the Five Mountains and Ten Temples, Southern Song Chan Monasteries of Jiangnan), (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 123

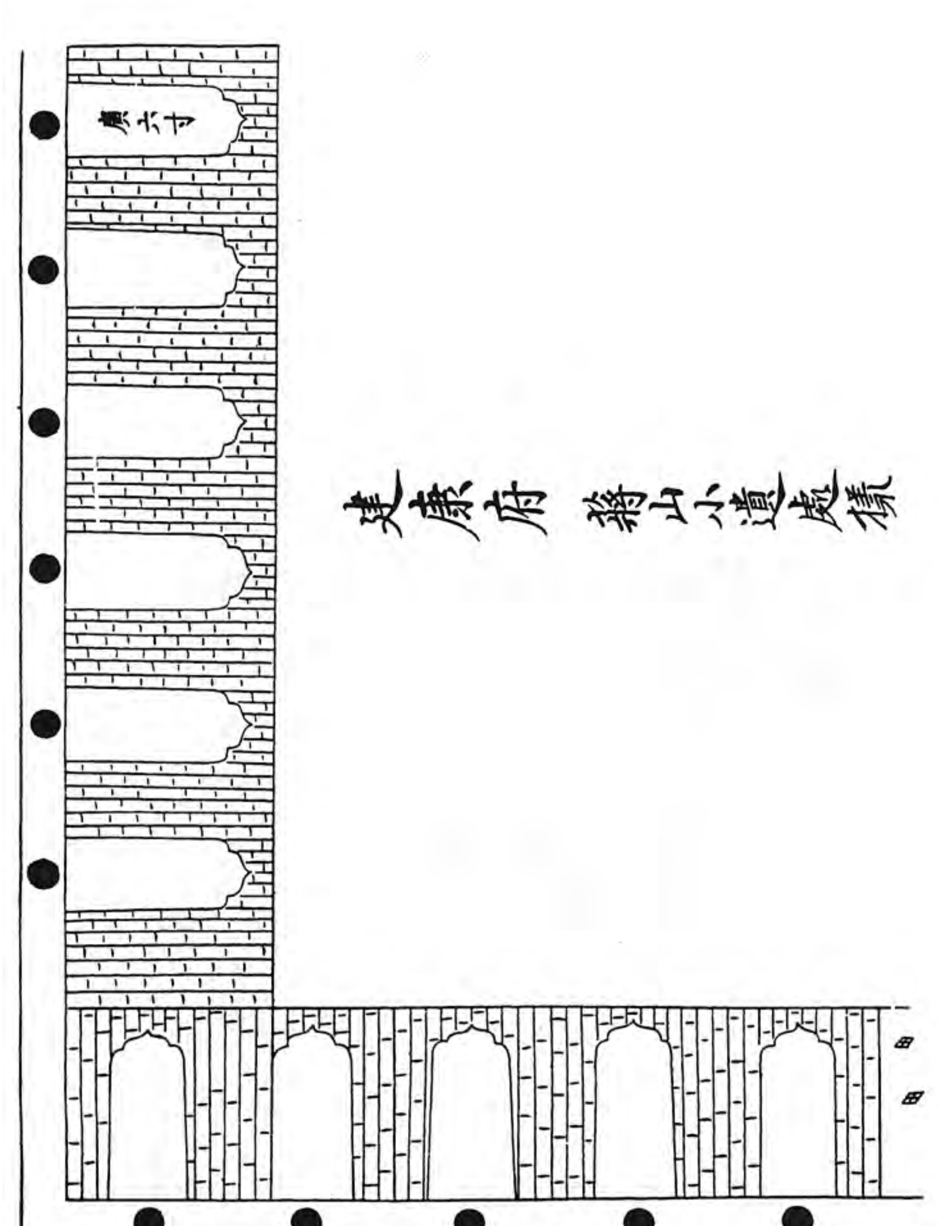


Figure 5. The Urinals at Jiangshan

After Zhang Shiqing 张十庆 , *Wu shan shi cha tu yu Nan Song Jiangnan chan si* 五山十刹图与南宋江南禅寺 (Plans of the Five Mountains and Ten Temples, Southern Song Chan Monasteries of Jiangnan), (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 125

a toilet house and nearby washing facilities, with a separate place designated for urinals. According to these texts, similar practices were followed in these facilities over the course of many centuries and in various regions. Monks in India and China alike utilised clothes hangers, toilet pits, toilet shoes and wooden sticks to scrape themselves clean. Remarkably, the last of these utensils was still recommended in the Chinese and even Japanese Chan monasteries of the Song period, even though alternatives (including toilet paper) had long been available by then. Similarly, Indian and Chinese monks continued to wash with earth, ashes and bath beans. However, some practices – such as hand-washing with cow dung – did disappear over time, while others – such as the use of toilet paper and wiping the hands with a cloth – were restricted to China. Moreover, there was much greater emphasis on washing with water – and especially hand-washing with warm water – in China.

From the Indian *vinaya*s onwards, the guidelines on toilet practices are motivated primarily by: a desire to avoid embarrassment; a respect for monastic and lay people; and a determination to preserve the clean image and proper decorum of the *saṃgha*. By contrast, health and hygiene play very marginal roles. Care and respect, on the other hand, are crucial motivating factors, and these are linked to personal and communal reliability. Meanwhile, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* places special focus on the concept of purity (see below), freedom from both physical and moral pollution, which are closely related to each other. At the same time, there is a tendency towards ritualization, expressed in the numbers of objects used and strict sequencing of actions.

All of these elements reappear in China, with a strong emphasis on decorum and, more than in the Indian *vinaya*s, on purity and ritualization – with the latter two concepts being central elements in the *qing gui* compilations. Finally, the Chinese guidelines place greater emphasis on humbleness in those going to the toilet, and on respect of hierarchy in the monastic community.

In both India and China, the name and reputation of the Buddhist *saṃgha* and its members, expressed through many detailed guidelines, are clearly always at stake. Linked to this is purity, a concept that is particularly important in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* and in China, especially from the time of Yijing onwards. Purity therefore also links the Chinese monastic and lay communities, as the latter expect the former to behave flawlessly and to respect social convention when using the toilet. A young man entering the monastic community should have been aware of this and, at least according to tradition, received extensive reminders about it. Of course, cleanliness in the monastic compound had to be seen and appreciated for the mutual understanding to have some effect. The texts indicate that lay people wanted monastics to be clean and pure, but this can be understood only in the wider context of lay society and its contact with monastic institutions. And, indeed, toilet conventions were certainly not uncommon in the Chinese lay community.

4.1. Toilets and toilet habits in first-millennium China

While, as mentioned above, the construction and daily use of toilets in medieval Chinese monasteries was subject to a growing set of rules and regulations, there was no equivalent painstaking attempt to regulate these activities in non-Buddhist early literature.[130] In particular, there is almost total silence on the social habits of and attitudes towards the latrine in the early period. Nevertheless, by piecing together a range of short references scattered throughout a multitude of sources, it is possible to shed some light on the toilet facilities in ancient and medieval China, and to form an impression of the toilet practices with which an aspiring young monk would have been familiar prior to joining the monastery.

As mentioned above, sacred Confucian writings laid down the rules for ancient Chinese bathing practices, and, with some minor modifications, these continued to be followed in China throughout most of the first millennium CE. The same texts are similarly valuable in their descriptions of toilet habits, albeit in a more modest way. Several of the Confucian classics dating back to the Warring States period (fifth century–221 BCE), such as the *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*), attest to the existence of a prototypical form of latrine in classical China.[131] Passages in these texts coin what are believed to be some of the earliest known terms for toilet facilities, such as *ce* 厠, which probably was one of the first terms to designate a privy.[132] The character is composed of the radical *guang* 广, 'a covering, a roof', and the sound element *ze* 則.[133] A variety of words for 'toilet' can also be found in prototypical dictionaries from the Han dynasty onwards, such as the early second-century *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (*Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters*) and the *Shiming* 釋名 (*Explaining Terms*), compiled in the Later Han (*Hou Han* 後漢 25–220).[134] Among these, one term is more common than the others, namely *hun* 溷, which also means 'dirty'. The character is also written as *hun* 圂. The first variant has the radical 'water' (氵) added to the compound *hun* 圂. *Hun* 圂 itself is composed of 'a pig' (豕) within 'an enclosure' (囗).[135] Judging from this, we may state that the toilet was considered to be a dirty place, related to a pigsty. Although undoubtedly developed in a rural context, this prototypical toilet was surely similarly well known in urban areas.[136] A fragment in the *Mozi* 墨子 (*Master Mo*), a philosophical work from the early Warring States period, describes city walls punctuated by toilets at intervals of fifty feet. Such toilets were located one floor above pigsties, which stood on level ground.[137] It seems that provision of latrines was prioritized in the general planning of urban sites and especially in the practical organization of their sanitary systems as early as the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods.[138]

As mentioned above, the radical of *ce* 厠, one of the characters designating a toilet, refers to a roof or covering, which may suggest that, if we leave the primeval pit in the ground (or waste heap) out of the discussion, the toilet was originally a building with a roof, probably located above a pigsty. Such early toilets would not have been particularly safe, and users probably had to take care not to fall in, as is suggested by an anecdote about a marquis from the Jin 晉 state (eleventh century–376 BCE), who

drowned in one.[139] The typical design of the Han toilet is confirmed by archaeological excavations of pigsties that shed light on the remarkable ingenuity and sophistication that were prevalent in sanitary construction at the time. Such toilets were small, roofed huts with the ubiquitous 'hole in the plank or the ground' as well as a door and windows (see Fig. 6). As they were constructed directly above pigsties, a water-based flushing system to wash away the waste was probably unnecessary.[140] It seems likely that human faeces (and probably kitchen refuse, too) was simply fed to the pigs. On the other hand, Zhang Jianlin and Fan Peisong have shown that animal and human excrement were both used as agricultural fertilizer in China from early on.[141]



Figure 6. Han dynasty pigsty toilet
Nicole De Bisscop, *Onder Dak in China* (Under a Roof in China), (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2007), 124

Due to the limits of scarce documentation, it is impossible to know for sure whether the first Chinese Buddhist monks were familiar with pigsty toilets. However, given when monastic communities started to appear in China, the first monks may well have used such toilets prior to joining their various monasteries. And they might have been familiar with other types of toilet, too, because many toilets were not linked to buildings that housed animals. In this respect, it is important to note that there is no evidence of Chinese Buddhist monastic communities building shelters for animals, so they would not have had pigsties for the disposal of sewage. Although pigsty toilets

were probably widely used in the Han period, particularly in rural areas, some Han-era clay model toilets show no connection with pigsties whatsoever. Moreover, some Han sources refer to separate closets (or toilets) within official buildings.[142] These could have provided the inspiration for the sanitary installations in religious compounds that developed over subsequent centuries. Archaeological findings have also unearthed such toilets. In this context, excavated Han dynasty tombs are particularly useful. Han era tomb culture dictated that these should contain all manner of everyday tools and facilities for use in the after-life. So, naturally, sanitary facilities were provided for the deceased. On occasion, this could go far beyond the aforementioned clay models, with life-size reproductions of all the necessities of day-to-day life installed in the tomb. One such tomb is that of Liu Wu 劉武, a feudal prince of the Liang 梁 princedom in the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE–9 CE), located in Shiyuan 柿元 township (Yongcheng 永城 city, Henan province). Liu's tomb even boasts two different types of toilet, with one designed for squatting and the other for sitting (Fig. 7).[143] This suggests that both methods of relieving oneself were practised interchangeably in the Han period, yet it is unclear precisely when each method was employed (and by whom). Gender may have played a role here, but this must remain a matter of conjecture. Moreover, given the strict separation of the sexes in Buddhist monasteries in later centuries, gender would not have presented any obstacle to monks' and nuns' toilet usage.

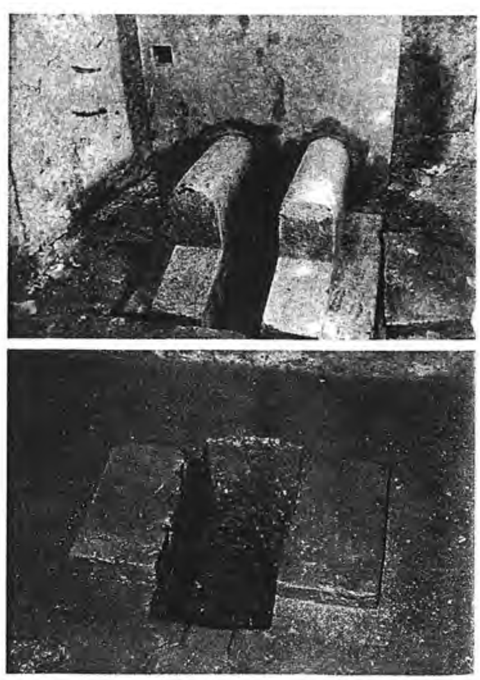


Figure 7. Han toilet (squatting type and sitting type)
Qinghua Guo, *Chinese Architecture and Planning: Ideas, Methods and Techniques* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2006), 42

In addition to a growing complexity in toilet design, ever more utensils and equipment started to be employed in sanitary routines. In the early centuries of the Common Era, use of the chamber pot was quite widespread. As will be shown later, members of the elite regularly used such pots for urination and possibly for defecation, too. The earliest prototypes may have been in use well before the Han dynasty, and they seem to have evolved, along with the lavatory itself, within the context of increasingly sophisticated urban material culture. One example is a receptacle known as the 'little tiger' (*huzi* 虎子), which seems to have been used at the highest levels of Han society. The *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (*Miscellaneous Writings of the Western Capital*), a Han collection of anecdotes, mentions that 'at the Han court a "little tiger" was made out of jade stone, and was used as a chamber vessel. Palace servants were made to carry it along wherever the Emperor went.'[144] This 'little tiger' illustrates how simple, everyday items were refined for use in the palace during the Han dynasty. By then, the chamber vessel (*bianqi* 便器) had been around for a considerable length of time,[145] and, indeed, artistic decoration of such receptacles was nothing new. Several specimens have been excavated from Han tombs (Fig. 8),[146] and these point to a proliferation of such pots in that era. Furthermore, the fact that they were included alongside the deceased's other essential equipment for use in the afterlife shows the esteem in which they were held.[147] A variety of other animals appeared on chamber pots, but the tiger was particularly popular and remained so,[148] as is indicated by a fine specimen from the West Jin dynasty (265–316).[149] Given the popularity of chamber pots, it is reasonable to surmise that Buddhist monks in the first millennium were familiar with them. However, those hailing from humble backgrounds probably never came into contact with anything as ornate as the 'little tiger'.



Figure 8. Han dynasty urinal
After Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1962), 117

In the centuries following the Han dynasty, the pigsty toilet probably ceased to be used (although there is no hard evidence for this in either the written or the archaeological record). Meanwhile, the robust but sophisticated privies found in Han tombs may well have set the trend for the ensuing centuries, especially in urbanized areas. In fact, there does not seem to have been much evolution in toilet design after the Han period. Privies were not buildings that attracted a great deal of attention. They consisted of a simple covered pit sheltered by a superstructure. According to Andrew Boyd, by the Sui and Tang dynasties, every major house was equipped with a latrine that comprised a pit and a wooden outhouse.[150] Aside from the aforementioned toilets that have been found in a few Han tombs, there is no textual or pictographic evidence to suggest that users sat on the toilet, so we must assume that they tended to squat when relieving themselves.

All of these simple pit toilets must have smelled foul, so, unsurprisingly, considerable effort went into overcoming this problem, especially in the post-Han period. An anecdote in the *Shishuo xinyu* (*New Account of Tales of the World*), written by Liu Yiqing (403–c. 443), mentions the provision of a little box of dried dates (jujubes). The idea was to stuff a date up each nostril to keep out the smell.[151] Liu then goes on to explain that members of the upper classes were somewhat more sophisticated in their approach. He tells the story of a wealthy merchant – Shi Chong 石崇 – who lived during the Jin 晋 dynasty (265–420). He posted female servants (*bishi* 婢侍) in the toilet room of his luxurious home, and provided precious powders, perfumes and new clothes for his guests' use during and after their visits to the toilet.[152] The stench must have been a concern in monasteries too, yet the various guidelines offer no advice on how to overcome the problem, aside from suggesting that the toilet facilities should be built in a distant corner of the compound.

One of Liu Yiqing's disciples, Pei Qi 裴啟 (dates unknown), also turns his attention to the home of Shi Chong and provides us with valuable information on the use of an important tool in early medieval Chinese toilet culture. In his collection of anecdotes, the *Yulin* 語林 (*The Garden of Speeches*), Pei mentions the distribution of small cleaning sticks (*chou* 籌) to the guests.[153] These scrapers (or *spatulae*) were used to wipe the anus. Archaeological evidence suggests the existence of such scrapers even before this time. Excavations of garbage heaps on military sites in the Dunhuang 敦煌 area have unearthed a considerable number of bamboo strips that may well have been used as scrapers by Western Han soldiers.[154] Such an early date for scrapers' introduction is certainly feasible, but a more secure *terminus post quem* is probably the Northern Wei dynasty (386–535), since Pei Qi's work can be traced to this period. The fact that the term for *spatulae* appears in Chinese texts only after the arrival of Buddhism in China may indicate that Indian merchants and monks carried such scrapers with them when they headed east, and the locals then added them to their more traditional cleaning utensils.[155] If this were the case, young Chinese Buddhist monks would surely have viewed this tool as an innovation. However, as we have shown above, it is equally plausible that a similar tool had already developed independently in China.

Toilet scrapers were certainly not the only kind of wiping tool, and a few centuries later a truly innovative development did emerge. From the Tang through to the Song period, scrapers were gradually superseded by the increasingly popular paper, although the former probably did not disappear entirely.[156] Charles Benn states that the earliest reference to the use of toilet paper is in a fifth-century ghost story (written by the aforementioned Liu Yiqing). A gentleman visits the toilet room and is confronted by two slave ghosts who argue over who should have the privilege of offering him 'grass paper' (*caozhi* 草紙). Although this is fiction rather than historical fact, it surely indicates that the use of toilet paper was well known in the fifth century, when Liu Yiqing was writing.[157] So, by the following century, when Yan Zhitui issued his strict proscription against cleaning oneself with paper containing text (see above), toilet paper was almost certainly widely used and generally accepted by the Chinese.[158] An extraordinary and very valuable source in this respect is an Arab witness who describes the Chinese practice of wiping the anus with paper. Presumably called Sulaimān, this seafaring merchant visited southern China around the middle of the ninth century and then recorded his observations in the *Ahbar As-sin wa l-Hind* (*Account of China and India*; 851). He reports with disdain that 'the Chinese, after having gone to the lavatory, clean themselves with a piece of paper' – a practice that ran counter to the Islamic orthodox method of washing the anus with water and the bare left hand.[159]

Our knowledge of the history of the lavatory and all its related practices and customs in wider Chinese society is rather more limited than our information on similar practices within the monasteries. In large part, this is due to a lack of concrete references to toilets in the early periods. Given the precise detail with which Buddhist regulators described their latrines, it could be said that the introduction of Buddhism to China may have ushered in a change in attitude towards the toilet and toilet customs. First of all, the novice who left the lay world, joined the monastic community and subsequently answered the call of nature would immediately have to come to terms with a much more complex process than he had previously known when emptying his bowels. Suddenly, he would be obliged to abide by a strict set of rules that may well have run counter to the habits he had developed up to that point. Second, the *vinaya* literature was the first of its kind to discuss such intimate matters so explicitly within Chinese society. In part, it may have paved the way for the discussion of a range of subjects that had previously been taboo in written sources. Nevertheless, it was a long time before references to toilets and toilet habits made their way into non-Buddhist literature. This may well have been because defecation and urination were still considered far too personal and intimate to be discussed openly in secular society. However, with the influx of Indian Buddhist teachings, a new chapter was written in this respect, and the introduction of Buddhism to China might well have triggered the increased stress on cleanliness in Chinese society. As for utensils used in toilet customs, we may hypothesize that, in many respects, the Indian and Chinese societies initially developed similar but discrete traditions. With the coming of Buddhism, though, these traditions merged, fused or reinforced each other. Wiping sticks and soap are prime examples of this process.

Notes

1. T.1428, p.709a27–b20. A *śaikṣa* rule is a minor rule concerning proper behaviour. Anyone who transgresses it commits a *duṣkṛta*, 'a bad deed' (cf. Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part I, 148–149). The *śaikṣa* rule banning the practice of relieving oneself on green grass can be found in all *vinaya* traditions, and has been studied in detail by Lambert Schmithausen, *The Problem of the Sentience of Plants in Earliest Buddhism* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1991), 31–33.

2. T.1428, p.739b15–c16 (*bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*, chapter for nuns, *pācittika* 77). There is quite a striking difference between the rule itself and the introductory story: while the rule says that a nun relieves herself, the introductory story says that nuns *throw* urine and excrement on a place close to the nunnery where lay followers often gather. Moreover, they do so on purpose, in an attempt to chase away lay followers who, according to the nuns, disturb their meditation. More confusion arises when we look closer at the aforementioned *śaikṣa* rule 49 for monks. In the commentary on this rule, the *bhikṣuvibhaṅga* (chapter for monks) states that a nun who relieves herself on green grass commits a *duṣkṛta* (p.709b15–16), which is inconsistent with *pācittika* rule 77 of the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*. Such inconsistencies appear occasionally in the *vinaya*, revealing that in the course of the development of *vinaya* texts some links were not taken into account (see also Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part III, 1097–1109). To complicate the matter further, the same guideline on relieving oneself on green grass also appears among the *śaikṣa* rules for nuns, sanctioned with a *duṣkṛta* (*bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*, T.1431, p.1039b26), another sign of an incomplete compilation process. For more details on this rule and a comparison with the other *vinaya*s, see Schmithausen, *The Problem of the Sentience of Plants*, 31–33.

3. See Schmithausen, *The Problem of the Sentience of Plants*, 23–36. Possibly related to the rule on relieving oneself on green grass is *śaikṣa* rule 94 for monks and nuns that says that one should not relieve oneself in a tree or in the neighbourhood of a tree, so as not to annoy the tree deity (T.1428, p.713a9–b5, similar to p.832b15–20). The deity is even afraid of being killed by the human waste. In contrast to green grass, sentient life is not situated in the plant or tree itself, but in a deity living in the tree. As further discussed in a recent study by Lambert Schmithausen, *Plants in Early Buddhism and the Far Eastern Idea of the Buddha-Nature of Grasses and Trees* (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2009), there is no conclusive evidence that plants were regarded as sentient beings in early Buddhism, although a few text passages, often linked to pre-Buddhist concepts, seem to suggest this. Other passages suggest a kind of borderline status between animate and inanimate. Lambert Schmithausen convincingly argues that the matter remained unresolved in early Buddhism, while 'there was a growing tendency toward an attitude of strong reserve against any explicit classification of plants as sentient beings in a doctrinal sense' (p.98). Discussing Jain influence on early Buddhism, Richard Gombrich (*What the Buddha Thought* (London: Equinox, 2009), 52–53) comes to a similar conclusion, while stating that the Buddha intentionally wanted to remain ambiguous so as not to offend either members of the public or virtuous Buddhist monks.

4. T.1428, p.709b21–c13. The offending monk commits a *duṣkṛta*, in much the same way as the other members of the monastic community, including the nuns (p.709c8–9). For a comparison with the other *vinaya*s, see Schmithausen, *The Problem of the Sentience of Plants*, 31–33.

5. T.1428, p.709c5. This idea of preserving the purity of water might be related to the respect Buddhist monastics wanted to show either for the belief of some lay followers in the sentience of water or for the concept of non-injury (in this case of small creatures living in the water). For details, see Schmithausen, *Problem of the Sentience of Plants*, 32 and 36; *Plants in Early Buddhism*, 45–46, 319–322.

6. T.1428, pp.709c14–710a4 (*śaikṣa* 51). A nun is also said to commit a *duṣkṛta* (T.1428, p.710a1–2). The same rule appears in the other *vinaya* traditions, too: Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, p.205; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.76b13–22; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.412a19–b1; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.141a9–11; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1442, p.904a9–12. The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* is the only *vinaya* to add a comment, declaring that relieving oneself while standing upright is a filthy practice.

7. T.1428, pp.739c17–740a26 (*pācitika* 78). The *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* adds that a monk, when breaking the same rule, commits a *duṣkṛta* (T.1428, p.740a20). The other *vinaya*s have this rule, too: Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, pp.265–266; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, pp.93c18–94a12 (one rule dealing with urine, and one with excrement and food leftovers); *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.543a2–14; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, pp.318c8–319a15; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1443, p.999a4–b6 (the *vinaya* does not explicitly mention excrement and urine, but uses the more general term 'filthy things').

8. Compare the parallel rule in the Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, p.265: *kaṭāha*, 'pot'; and in the *bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, 288: *uccāra-mallaka*, 'pot for excrement' (for a translation, see Édith Nolot, *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes*, 318).

9. This rule provides strong evidence of the urban location of Buddhist nunneries, as shown in detail by Gregory Schopen, "On Emptying Chamber Pots without Looking and the Urban Location of Buddhist Nunneries in Early India Again," *Journal Asiatique* 296, no. 2 (2008). In some traditions (Pāli *vinaya*, *Mahīśāsakavinaya* and *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*), the victim of the nun's careless action is a brahmin, which, given the brahmins' focus on purity (see below), enhances the point.

10. In this context, the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.504b29–c13) provides further guidelines for a monk who is visiting a village. First, the monk should relieve himself before leaving the monastery. Once in the village, if he needs to go to the toilet again, he may use a toilet designated for men, but never one designated for women. If there are no toilet facilities, he should ask older people for a suitable place (others, and especially young women – who might make fun of the monk – should not be asked). If this does not provide a solution, the monk should find an isolated place or, if one is not available, a wall by the side of the road, and try to be as discreet as possible. If he has a companion, he should ask him to provide a shield. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* further stipulates that monks should follow all rules of propriety in the company of merchants, even on a ship.

11. Although the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* views human waste as dirt, it also suggests that urine and 'liquid' (*zhi* 汁) excrement have medicinal uses. When using urine, only the middle stream, never the beginning or the end, should be used (T.1425, p.505a19–21). Liquid excrement can be used to treat poisoning (p.504c15–16). Indian medical traditions often suggested the use of urine to treat a wide variety of diseases, ranging from obesity to jaundice. The *Sūtrasthāna* section of the Ayurvedic *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, the earliest version of which probably dates to the first century CE, incorporates a detailed overview of all the characteristics and properties of various kinds of urine. It describes human urine as strongly anti-toxic (cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 1, "Sūtrasthāna", ch. 45, 445–447).

12. T.1428, p.757a25–26, b18–19, p.924c20–21, p.925a11–12. This problem is listed among the diseases that exclude a (female) candidate from ordination only in the Dharmaguptaka tradition.

13. T.1428, p.773b20–c20 (*pācittika* 65). There are no parallels in other traditions.

14. T.1428, p.711c21–24. The same guidelines are also mentioned on p.958a17–20. The text adds that excrement or urine left in the neighbourhood of the *stūpa* creates a bad smell that will enter the precinct.

15. T.1428, pp.711c25–712a1. See also p.957b26–27.

16. See André Bareau, "La construction et le culte des stūpa d'après les *vinayapiṭaka*," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 50, no. 2 (1962): 251–256. Only the Pāli *vinaya* lacks such rules. For a discussion on this, see, in particular, Gregory Schopen, "The *Stūpa* Cult and the Extant Pāli *Vinaya*," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XIII (1989; reprinted in Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*); Richard Gombrich, "Making Mountains without Molehills: the Case of the Missing Stūpa," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XV (1990); Charles Hallisey, "Apropos the Pāli Vinaya as a Historical Document: A Reply To Gregory Schopen," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XV (1990); Oskar von Hinüber, "*Khandhakavatta*, Loss of Text in the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka?" *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XV (1990).

17. T.1428, p.957b27–28.

18. T.1428, p.942b26–c8. Similar accounts are recorded in the other *vinaya* traditions: Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, pp.140–142; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b2–16; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, pp.504a14–505a22; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.276a14–b20; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, pp.246c23–247b6.

19. The *vinaya* specifies that one should always relieve oneself in a place that is screened off (T.1428, p.960c28–29), including when on the road. Relieving oneself is seen as a private act that should not be viewed by others. In this context, T.1428, pp.862c29–863a2 says that even when relieving oneself in the open air, one should make a kind of screen with grass, leaves, branches or even a rug. One should also ensure that such a screened-off place is not used by women. The same care should be taken when, after a visit to the toilet, one goes to a pond to wash oneself (T.1428, p.955a23–b1).

20. The Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, p.141) warns that the toilet room should not be built too close to ground level, to avoid any risk of inundation. A balustrade can help people get up and down. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.176b14–15) also mentions a way up and down, with a balustrade for support. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.504a17–18) further stipulates that a toilet room must be located in the south or the west, so that the smell is carried away by the wind. The same is true for the urinal (p.504c21–22). However, according to the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.247a18–19), the toilet should be located behind the monastery, on the northwestern side. The descriptions of toilet houses reveal a quite sophisticated system, which should come as no surprise as the Indus Valley Harappan culture, one of the earliest in history, had previously employed sewerage and toilet facilities quite extensively (see Michael Jansen, "Water Supply and Sewage Disposal at Mohenjo-Daro," *World Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (1989): 188–189).

21. In addition, the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1435, p.276a19–21) describes steps next to the toilet pit that allow the user to avoid soiling his feet with dirt that may lie near by (*an jiao chu* 安腳處, lit. 'a place to steady one's feet'). These steps can be made out of wood, stones or bricks. Similar steps feature in the washing facilities that are used after a visit to the toilet (T.1435, p.276b1–4) and next to the urinal (T.1435, p.276b13–15).

22. The *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1435, p.276b12–13) adds that a very small hole should be made in the lid, allowing a small flow of air to reduce the smell.

23. T.1428, pp.931c28–932b28. Unless indicated otherwise, the information below comes from the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*'s main passage on toilet facilities. Other passages will be marked at the corresponding guideline.

24. *Cao* 草 usually refers to 'grass' or 'straw'. In this context, the Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, p.141, pp.221–222) uses the word *kaṭṭha* (Skt. *kāṣṭha*), 'piece of wood', 'stick', often rendered with the Chinese term *mu* 木, 'wood' (cf. Unrai Wogihara et al., *Kan'yaku Taishō Bonwa Daijiten* 漢訳対照梵和大辞典 (A Sanskrit–Japanese Dictionary with Chinese Equivalents) (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1979), 347).

25. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, pp.221–222; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177a6–b25; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.504b5–c17; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.299b18–27. In addition, a commentary on the *prātimokṣasūtra* of an unknown school (*Pinimu jing* 毘尼母經, *Vinayamātṛkā*?, T.1463; cf. Paul Demiéville, Hubert Durt and Anna Seidel, *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais, édition de Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō)*, (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient; Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1978), 125; Akira Yuyama, *Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur, Erster Teil: Vinaya-Texte* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), 44; according to Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śaka* (Louvain: Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1958), 212, this text belongs to the Haimavata School), translated at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, contains a very detailed exposition on the above event (T.1463, p.838a12–b13). It underscores how the Buddha explicitly states that monks should take care of their bodies. If not, they might hurt others even more (p.838a18–20). In this sense, care and reliability are closely connected.

26. *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, pp.276c29–277b27.

27. The potential users of a toilet can be human or non-human (T.1428, p.932a18–19; see also *Pinimu jing*, T.1463, p.838a22–23).

28. T.1428, p.864b14–15.

29. T.1428, p.847b17–21. The Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, pp.141–142, p.222) refers to the use of 'urinal shoes' (*passāvapādukā*), 'privy shoes' (*vaccapādukā*) and 'rinsing shoes' (*ācamanapādukā*). According to the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.247a23–24), privy shoes made out of wood (*mu lü* 木履) are to be left outside the toilet facilities and should be put on when entering.

30. *Long ya yi* 龍牙杙, a pin projecting from the wall (compare *xiang ya yi* 像牙杙, *hastidanta*, cf. Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part II, 524, note 230).

31. Some additional guidelines are given for relieving oneself at the water's edge (T.1428, p.932a20–23) if toilet facilities are unavailable: the monk should hang his robe from a tree or place it on a stone or the grass. He may keep on all of his clothes during strong wind and heavy rain, but he should be very careful not to let them come into contact with the toilet place.

32. In a similar context, the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.504b2–3, c27–28) stipulates that a monk should cover his left shoulder, but uncover his right shoulder.

33. A monk has three basic robes: the *antarvāsaka*, the *uttarāsaṅga* and the *saṃghāṭī* (outer cloak). See, among others, Isaline B. Horner, *The Book of Discipline* (*Vinaya-Piṭaka*), (London: Pali Text Society, 1938–1966), vol. II, 1–2, note 2: "The *antaravāsaka* is put on at the waist, and hangs down to just above the ankles, being tied with the *kāyabandhana*, a strip of cloth made into a belt or girdle […]. The *uttarāsaṅga* is the upper robe worn when a monk is in a residence. It covers him from neck to ankle, leaving one shoulder bare. […] The *saṅghāṭi* is put on over this when the monk goes out. It may be exactly the same size as the *uttarāsaṅga*, but it consists of double cloth, since it is made from two robes woven together."

34. Monks are permitted to wear only one robe only when using the toilet facilities. In all other places this practice is explicitly forbidden (*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.858a14–16). The *vinaya* (T.1428, p.864b5–16) also stipulates that monks should not take a *seng fu shen yi* 僧覆身衣, lit. 'a *saṃgha* robe (or robes?) that covers the body', to the washing room or to the refec-

tory (unless the weather is cold), nor should they bring it to the toilet (unless there is a place where they can hang it safely). The robe(s) need to be looked after very carefully so that they do not get dirty. It is unclear which robe is meant by the term *seng fu shen yi*. In another passage (T.1428, p.862c10–11), the Buddha allows monks who have an ulcer to cover it with a *fu shen yi* 覆身衣, 'a robe that covers the body'. This kind of exceptional robe does not seem to be related to a robe that is worn when the weather is cold, or to one that a monk should not get dirty.

35. In addition, the *Dhamaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, p.932a29–b1) allows a toilet above water.

36. The *Pinimu jing* (T.1463, p.838a20–21) adds that one should not force out excrement, but instead let it fall out gradually and silently.

37. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.177b14–17) warns that one should not use sharp objects. If necessary, one should cut away any sharp edges (so as not to injure oneself). Similar warnings are given in the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, which advises monks to use smooth, round objects (T.1425, p.504b7).

38. Idem *Pinimu jing*, T.1463, p.838b5–6. When dimensions are given in the *vinaya*s, they are usually based on *sugata* measurements, interpreted as the measurements of the Buddha. Their exact scale is difficult to calculate, however. The influential Chinese *vinaya* master Daoxuan 道宣, in a commentary on the Chinese *vinaya*s compiled in 626 CE (*Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, *An Abridged and Explanatory Commentary on the Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1804, p.108c5–8), states that there is no consensus on what constitutes a hand span. He prefers the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* interpretation (T.1421, p.35c23) in which a hand span equals two feet, which Daoxuan in turn calculates on the basis of the standard length of a foot of the Zhou dynasty (0.231 m.). So a hand span would be 0.462 m. on this basis. For the 'finger breadth' (*aṅgula*), Daoxuan (T.1804, p.89b2–3) refers to the same Zhou standard, giving a measure of 0.0462 m. For more details, see Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part II, 654–656, note 112, and 730–731, note 172.

39. The meaning of *cha qi* 叉奇 grass remains unclear. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.177b17) forbids use of *qishu* 漆樹, the lacquer tree (on the history and use of the lacquer tree (*lākshā taru*) in India, see Dutt, *The Materia Medica of the Hindus*, 277–278). According to the *Pinimu jing* (T.1463, p.838b3–5), one should not use stone, fresh grass, soil, soft bark, soft leaves or *qi mu* 奇木, possibly to be interpreted as 'rare wood, i.e. old, strangely shaped wood'. Instead, one should use wood, bamboo or reed.

40. The *Pinimu jing* (T.1463, p.838b6), however, stipulates that this should not be done.

41. Some *vinaya*s mention a receptacle for toilet sticks: Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, p.222: *avalekhanapidhara*, cf. Horner, *The Book of Discipline*, vol. V, 311); *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177b20–21 (*qicheng* 器盛: if it is full, the sticks should be placed in a hole or burned); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.299b27 (*qi* 器: if full, the sticks must be thrown away somewhere that is quite distant from the monastery).

42. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.504b10) refers to a kind of wooden scraper to clean a dirty toilet (*mu bi* 木蓖). The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.247a28) mentions that the toilet should be cleaned with plenty of water, using a kind of broom (*sao hui* 掃篲).

43. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.176b8–13) specifies that, if left in the room, the toilet pot should be carefully closed to contain the smell. If left outside the room, it should be filled with water so that small insects do not enter it. Special toilets (*varcaḥsthāna*) for the sick are also mentioned in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, an Ayurvedic treatise dating back to the third or second century BCE, in the context of a description of an infirmary (Sharma, *Caraka Saṃhitā*, vol. 1, "Sūtrasthāna", ch. 15, 104).

44. In addition, the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* advises monks not to wash if they are suffering from haemorrhoids. Instead, they should wipe themselves with something soft, such as a cloth or tree leaves (T.1425, p.504b19–20). The *Pinimu jing* (T.1463, p.838b10–13) specifies that there should be a large jug or bottle for communal use by all members of the monastic community in front of the toilet door. When washing, a monk should transfer water from this large jug into a small bottle that stands beside it (again, this is provided for communal use). However, if a monk has his own small bottle, he should use this rather than the communal bottle. He should always be careful never to soil the large jug or the small communal bottle. Rinsing the anus with water has a long history in India. For instance, in the *Manusmṛti (The Laws of Manu)*, an early key work of the Dharmaśāstra textual tradition written between 200 BCE and 200 CE, reference is made to cleaning the anus with earth and water using the left hand (cf. George Buhler, *The Laws of Manu* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), ch. 5, 193).

45. *Lu tu* probably corresponds with such Sanskrit terms as *ūṣa* (soil impregnated with saline particles) and *kṣāramṛttikā* (alkaline soil). For a detailed discussion of alkaline soil, its properties and its use as a cleaning agent for clothes, see Agarwal and Shukla, "Washerman," 317.

46. For the use of ashes, see Chapter I, note 41.

47. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.177b24–25) provides a receptacle (*qicheng* 器盛) for ashes and cow dung. The latter is seldom mentioned in Ayurvedic works. In later centuries, Indian writers claimed it had disinfectant properties (cf. Julia Leslie, *The Perfect Wife* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 59–61).

48. T.1428, p.932b19–21. On bath beans, see also Chapter I, note 35.

49. T.1451, pp.276c29–277b27.

50. See also note 33, above.

51. T.1451, p.277b23–25.

52. Purity praised by brahmins also features in a Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda passage on funerals, as discussed by Gregory Schopen, "On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20 (1992; reprinted in Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*), 215–221: when brahmins and householders criticize the Buddhist community for not washing after carrying a corpse, the Buddha says that all monks who come into contact with a corpse should wash themselves and their clothes. The others should wash their hands and feet. The Chinese translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.287a3–6, contains a parallel passage, albeit without reference to brahmins.

53. An action becomes ritualized through standardization, expressed in this passage through precise numbers and a set order of actions. While the agent still has the purpose of cleaning himself, he also acknowledges and executes certain standardized acts – as many others have done before him and will do afterwards. In addition to washing himself, the agent performs a set sequence of actions, which in this context is purely formal, and is learned through imitation. In this sense, the action is ritualized but not purely ritual. Frits Staal ("The Meaninglessness of Ritual," *Numen* 26, no. 1 (1979): 9) states that the rules count in a ritual activity, but not the result. Here, both the rules and the result matter. For a discussion, see, among others, Staal, "The Meaninglessness of Ritual," 8–15; Rik Pinxten, *Goddelijke fantasie* (Antwerpen: Houtekiet, 2000), 115–119; and Richard K. Payne, "Cognitive Theories of Ritual and Buddhist Practice: An Examination of Ilkka Pyysiäinen's Theory," *Pacific World Journal*, Third Series, no. 4 (2002), 80–82, who also underscores the concept of 'procedural memory', trained through imitation, as a characteristic of Buddhist ritual practice. Such ritualized practices 'do not primarily depend on verbal information, i.e. are not primarily semantic; nor do they employ intense emotional experiences'.

54. Although, in this context, the brahmin character is introduced because of his love of purity, this certainly does not imply that this is the only image to which monastic redactors refer when dealing with brahmins. As shown by Schopen, "On Emptying Chamber Pots," 250–252, attitudes towards brahmins vary from tradition to tradition, and from situation to situation.

55. Closely linked to maintaining the purity of the body is a fear of pollution. In this sense, eating and the resulting defecating are both very problematic. As is clearly shown by Patrick Olivelle, *Rules and Regulations of Brahmanical Asceticism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 17–26, some go even further and see the body as an aggregate of substances that are themselves impure, meaning that the body's interior is inevitably polluted.

56. Richard Gombrich, "Notes on the Brahmanical Background to Buddhist Ethic," in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Hammalava Saddhatissa*, eds. Gatare Dhammapala, Richard Gombrich, and Kenneth R. Norman (Nugegoda: Buddhist Research Library Trust, 1984), 95.

57. On body-meditation, see, among others, Liz Wilson, *Charming Cadavers*, *Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 41–76; Mrozik, *Virtuous Bodies*, 87–92; Powers, *A Bull of a Man*, 115–118; and a recent study by Bart Dessein, "Bones and Skulls as Objects of Meditation," in *Cultural Histories of Meditation*, ed. Halvor Eifring (Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, forthcoming), that discusses meditation techniques focusing on the decay of dead bodies.

58. Steven Collins, "The Body in Theravāda Buddhist Monasticism," in *Religion and the Body*, ed. Sarah Coakley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 194–203.

59. Gombrich, "Notes on the Brahmanical Background," 100.

60. T.1470, see Introduction, note 37.

61. T.1470, p.914a15–28.

62. T.1470, p.914a18–19.

63. T.1470, p.914a27–28.

64. T.1470, p.925b25–c11.

65. The *Shami shi jie fa bing weiyi* 沙彌十戒法并威儀, *The Ten Precepts and Good Behaviour of a Śrāmaṇera* (T.1471; see Chapter I, note 57), also provides a list of guidelines as part of the training of novices (T.1471, p.929c2–12). Many of these guidelines correspond to the above stipulations and focus on decent behaviour. The *Shami shi jie fa bing weiyi* adds that, after visiting the toilet, one should not touch anything before washing one's hands.

66. Pelliot manuscript 2410, lines 354–369, cf. the International Dunhuang Project Database http://idp.bl.uk/ (last accessed 8 April, 2012). For a comparison of the manuscript with the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, see Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 211–214.

67. See Chapter I, note 60.

68. See Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 159; *Monastic Life*, 114. See also Kohn, *Daoist Monastic Manual*, 123 (with a translation of the *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi*).

69. See Chapter I, note 65.

70. For details, see Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 159–163; *Monastic Life*, 114–119.

71. Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 163 (idem *Monastic Life*, 119).

72. See also note 43.

73. This concept of purity also arises when a predecessor of Daoxuan, the monk Huijiao 慧皎, praises the purity of the fourth-century Chinese monk Fotucheng 佛圖澄, declaring that the latter's purity was so great that his excretory organs emitted light (see *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, compiled by Huijiao around 530, T.2059, pp.386c27–387a1). For a discussion on this passage, see C. Pierce Salguero, "'A Flock of Ghosts Bursting Forth and Scattering': Healing Narratives in a Sixth-Century Chinese Buddhist Hagiography," *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 32 (2010): 97.

74. For a reconstruction, see T.1892, pp.812–813. See Chapter I, note 71.

75. For an illustration, see Fig. 1. On Daoxuan's diagram, toilet facilities are indicated with the term *liu ce* 流廁, possibly to be interpreted as 'a toilet (*ce*) with running (*liu*) [water]'. The proximity of water is also mentioned in the aforementioned Daoist monastic guidelines and in the travel account of Yijing (T.2125, p.218c13–14), who suggests that washing places should be built close to running water. Indeed, on the ground plan drawn by Daoxuan, a canal with running water is indicated. However, it is situated in the eastern part of the monastery, close to the wells and the kitchen, while the toilet is in the far northwestern corner.

76. T.1897, pp.872c26–873a16.

77. *Niao ta* is a compound which exists exclusively in Buddhist texts. This seems to suggest that the word is a translation of an Indic term, yet a link with an original ancient Indian urinal could not be established.

78. This is literally loess, which became so characteristic of China's geology. Loess has been used in medicinal formulae from early on. In the work of the Han dynasty physician Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (150–219), one finds, for instance, a *huang tu tang* 黃土湯, a decoction of (baked) yellow earth (Zhang Zhongjing, *Jingui yaolüe lunzhu* 金匱要略論注 (*Treatise with Commentaries on the Sinopsis of the Golden Chamber*), ch. 16, 11 (in *Siku quanshu*).

79. The text literally says: *xi zao hui jia* 細皁灰莢, 'fine black ashes and pods'. The text might be somehow erratic, since the sequence *xi hui zao jia,* 'fine ashes (*xi hui*) and pods (*zao jia*)', seems to be more logical in the context. The use of ashes (*hui*) for cleansing is well known (cf. supra), while the compond z*ao jia* is clearly recognizable as a designation of the soap-bean tree (*Gleditsia sinica*), from which detergents were probably made (see Chapter I, note 128).

80. Paper was probably first used for writing in the first century CE. By the third century, it had become the standard material for making books. Cf. Tsuen-Hsuin Tsien, *Science and Civilisation in China*, *Volume 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part I: Paper and Printing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, reprinted 1993), 2.

81. See, for instance, Jean-Pierre Drège, *Les bibliothèques en Chine au temps des manuscripts* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991), 175–247.

82. See Gregory Schopen, "The Phrase *sa pṛthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet* in the *Vajracchedikā*, Notes on the Cult of the Book in Mahāyāna," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 17 (1975; reprinted in Schopen, *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism*), 42–52; Drège, *Les bibliothèques en Chine*, 203–208; John Kieschnick, "Blood Writing in Chinese Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 23, no. 2 (2000): 181–186 (with a particular focus on the practice of copying Buddhist texts with one's own blood) and *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 164–185.

83. See *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮花經, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Lotus Sūtra*, T.262, p.30c11 (discussed by Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 165).

84. *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓, *Family Instructions of Yan*, 卷上, p.12b (in *Siku Quanshu*). See also Drège, *Les bibliothèques en Chine*, 162; Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, 109; Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 173.

85. Neither Daoxuan nor Yan Zhitui refers to the concept that paper containing text may possess supernatural power. John Kieschnick (*The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 172–176, 185) suggests that this notion probably became widespread only in medieval China, when it firmly established itself in Chinese popular belief.

86. *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas*, T.2125, p.218a25–c22.

87. Yijing's reference to paper needs to be treated with caution, as demonstrated by Tim H. Barrett ("Did I-ching go to India?," 152–154). Although the use of paper in India cannot be fully discounted, Yijing may well have introduced this guideline solely for the benefit of his Chinese audience, which, as we have seen, was well acquainted with this practice by the seventh century.

88. T.2125, p.218b20–24.

89. T.2125, p.218b24–26.

90. In this sense, 'emptiness' is a rival of 'existence' (cf., among others, Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism, The Doctrinal Foundations* (London: Routledge, 1989; reprint 1996), 60–63).

91. On the idea of repulsiveness in a Māhayāna context, see, in particular, Paul Williams, "Some Mahāyāna Buddhist Perspectives on the Body," in *Religion and the Body*, ed. Sarah Coakley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 208–211.

92. T.2125, p.218b27–c3.

93. T.2125, p.218c4–5. On this hint of pragmatism in Yijing's account, see Heirman, "Indian Disciplinary Rules and Their Early Chinese Adepts," 267–269.

94. T.2125, p.218c5–12.

95. This note follows the story of Śāriputra's encounter with the brahmin. Having referred to the use of a tube, a trough and pieces of silk (T.1451, p.277b25–27), Yijing adds that some wipe their hands on stone, since no earth lumps were originally available.

96. No precise equivalent has yet been established for a *shi*. Luo Zhufeng et al. eds., *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 , *fulu – suoyin* 附录 – 索引 (appendix and index vol.) (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1994), 12, suggest a figure of 67 litres for the Song dynasty (960–1279), but they are unable to provide a figure for the earlier Tang dynasty (618–907).

97. Yijing allows the use of chopsticks because it was neither forbidden nor permitted by the Buddha, and because it is in accordance with the *vinaya*'s focus on purity. This reasoning is an interpretation of the concept of *lüe jiao* 略教, 'abridged teaching', which is particularly popular in Mūlasarvāstivāda texts (see Heirman, "Indian Disciplinary Rules and Their Early Chinese Adepts," 271, and "Abridged Teaching," forthcoming).

98. T.2125, p.218c13–14.

99. T.2125, p.218c14–17.

100. W 101, pp.311a18–312b3.

101. The toilet is called the *dongsi* 東司, lit. 'east office'. There seems to be no reason for this designation: toilet facilities were placed in various locations in Song monasteries, yet were always called *dongsi* (see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 300, note 1).

102. W 111, p.912a3–b2. The section is entitled *daxiao bianli* 大小便利, 'using the toilet'. For a translation, see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 205–206.

103. In Chan monasteries, a *guazi* was usually worn instead of the traditional *kāṣāya.* It covered both shoulders. For details and an illustration, see Yifa, *Monastic Codes in China*, xxv and 64–65.

104. The term *qun* 裙 is often used as a rendering of *nivāsana*, underclothing (Wogihara, *Bonwa Daijiten*, 697, s.v. *ni-vāsana*). Both of these terms are quite general, and it is not always clear to which piece of clothing they refer (see Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part II, 515–517, note 197). From the third century onwards, a *qun* was regularly added to the standard three robes of a monk or a nun (Guo Huizhen, *Hanzu fojiao sengjia fuzhuang zhi yanjiu* 漢族佛教僧伽服裝之研究 (A Study on Monastic Clothing in Chinese Buddhism) (Taipei: Fagu wenhua, 2001), 133, 148, with illustration).

105. For details, see Guo, *Hanzu fojiao sengjia fuzhuang zhi yanjiu*, 133, 143–148 (with illustration). For another illustration, see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, xxvi.

106. According to Yifa (*Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 301, note 5), this might point to the fact that the belt was marked with a name or an identifying symbol.

107. Zunshi, by contrast, remains more faithful to the *vinaya*s and does not prescribe removal of clothes. Indeed, he stipulates that a monk should not show his nakedness, but should lift up his clothes gradually (W 101, p.311b15).

108. 'Intestinal wind' or *chang feng*, is identified in medical texts as bleeding haemorrhoids or bloody stools (see Wiseman and Feng, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*, 318–319). The use of warm water was certainly not uncommon in China, as we saw in the previous chapter, and the *Chanyuan qing gui* also mentions the use of hot water (*tang shui* 湯水) for cleaning after going to the toilet. A latrine attendant would have controlled the supply of warm water (W 111, p.898a17–18). The Japanese monk Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), in his *Shōbō genzo* 正法眼藏 , *Eye of the Treasury of the Right Dharma*, T.2582, p.32c19–26, says that both warm and cold water are used in China's lavatories. In much the same way as the *Chanyuan qing gui*, he recommends washing with cold water, rather than warm. However, he also stipulates that water should be heated in a kettle and that this should be used when washing the hands.

109. Note the specificity of the term. *Zao jia zao dou* literally means 'washing beans from the soapbean tree'. This must signify that *zao jia* was the tree that bore the fruit called *zao dou*, or that *zao dou* were manufactured from the fruit/seeds of the *zao jia* tree (see also Chapter I, note 128).

110. The *Chanyuan qing gui* also describes the duties of a latrine attendant (*jing tou* 淨頭; W 111, p.898a15–b2; for a translation, see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 169). The latter should collect the wooden sticks, wash the towels, wash and sweep all of the facilities, and ensure a good supply of clean towels, wooden sticks, ashes and bath beans. He earns a lot of merit for this work.

111. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.504b11, also says that a monk who has not washed after using the toilet should not be allowed to use the sitting or sleeping material of the *saṃgha*.

112. Zunshi goes even further by suggesting that any monk walking to the toilet should not make eye contact with others, but rather always look at the ground (W 101, p.311b4–6).

113. For more details on hungry ghosts living in latrines, see Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 301, note 6. Zunshi stipulates that a monk should snap his fingers or cough in order to warn anyone who might already be in the toilet (W 101, p.311b9–10). A little later in his manual (p.312b1–3), however, he refers to a text entitled *Za piyu jing* 雜譬喻經, *Several Exemplary Stories*: when a monk enters a toilet without snapping his fingers, a hungry ghost who lives there has his face soiled. He wants to kill the monk, but decides against it because of the monk's great

virtue. This story does not appear in any surviving *Za piyu jing*, though, so Zunshi's source is unclear.

114. As studied in detail in Ann Heirman, "Speech is Silver, Silence is Golden? Speech and Silence in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*," *The Eastern Buddhist* 40, nos. 1–2 (2009), abstention from speech and laughter is often seen in China as a means to protect the proper etiquette of the *saṃgha*. In the same vein, Zunshi stresses that, when squatting, one should remain very still, with the feet precisely in line, rather than placing one foot in front of the other (W 101, p.311b12). One should also look straight ahead, and certainly not look into the toilet pit (p.311b16–17).

115. In a similar context, Zunshi warns that one should not use a wooden stick to draw on the wall or write characters (W 101, p.312a1).

116. Similar guidelines appear in the *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用, *Daily Life in the Assembly*, compiled in 1209 by the Chan monk Wuliang Zongshou 無量宗壽 (W 111, pp.943–947; see also Foulk, "Daily Life in the Assembly"). However, this text pays particular attention to a purification act: when answering the call of nature, one should keep one's mind focused on the *dhāraṇī* (incantation) of entering the toilet (p.946a11).

117. For more on these texts, see, among others, Fritz, *Die Verwaltungsstruktur der Chan-Klöster*, 16–27 and Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 47–50.

118. W 112, p.53a7; W 112, p.139a18–b2; T.2025, p.1145c1–6.

119. The *Yingluo jing* is an abbreviation of *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞奔業經, *Book of the Original Acts that Serve as Necklaces for the Bodhisattvas*. Although translation of the *Yingluo jing* has traditionally been attributed to Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (end of the fourth–beginning of the fifth century), in reality it is an apocryphal text that was compiled in China (see Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching*," 253). The text stresses Mahāyāna moral conduct rather than Hīnayāna *vinaya* precepts (see Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of Japanese Tendai School* (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1984), 219).

120. For a full translation, see Ichimura, *Baizhang Zen Monastic Regulations*, 312–313.

121. See Williams, "Some Mahāyāna Buddhist Perspectives on the Body," 209–210. Moreover, impurity can be transmitted to others, for instance through sexual activity. In this context, Bart Dessein (forthcoming) suggests that living a life of renunciation of all bodily pleasure, outside of society, reinforces the label of purity to which members of the monastic community aspire.

122. T.2582, pp.30a3–33b29. For a translation, see Nishijima and Cross, *the True Dharma-eye Treasure*, vol. I, 75–88.

123. T.2582, p.30a20–24, which is an exact quote of T.278, p.431a27–b2, parallel to T.279, p.70b29–c4.

124. T.2582, p.32b21–22, corresponding to T.278, p.431b2–3 and T.279, p.70c4–5. Other texts referred to directly by Dōgen are the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* and the *Chanyuan qing gui*. Dōgen further adds some interesting details on the wooden stick or spatula: it has a triangular shape, and can be painted or varnished (T.2582, p.32a11–13).

125. See Chapter I, note 95.

126. See note 101, above. For a description, see also Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 204–205; Zhang, *Wu shan shi cha*, 49–50.

127. Indicated as *xiao yi* 小遺, 'urine'.

128. In his description of early twentieth-century monasteries in central China, Johannes Prip-Møller also refers to toilets (*Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 156–158; 229–230). They are usually built in a traditional Chinese way, in a two-storey building, with the toilet holes on the upper floor and the excrement falling into a reservoir on the lower level. The toilets are located on the outskirts of the compound and are overseen by a specially appointed monk. Only toilets reserved for monastic leaders might have doors. Toilet stalls sometimes have partition walls. Each monk has to provide his own toilet paper. As in Daoxuan's time, paper containing writing cannot be used. Prip-Møller also says that the monks in one monastery use flat bamboo sticks rather than toilet paper. The unused sticks are put in a cylindrical box on the floor, the used ones in a flat basket. The latter are removed and washed before being reused. The use of wooden scrapers is clearly related to practices described in the *vinaya*s and traditional disciplinary guidelines, as discussed above. Prip-Møller further points to the existence of separate urinals, consisting of a gutter or a jar.

129. According to Luo (*Hanyu da cidian*, 5), a *cun* of the Song dynasty (960–1279) corresponds to 3.12 centimetres.

130. We would like to express our sincere thanks to Enno Giele for his kindness in allowing us to draw on his extensive research notes on the history of toilet habits in ancient and medieval China, which he presented under the title "Abort im alten China" at the Free University of Berlin on 14 October 2005.

131. Zheng Yuan 鄭元 (Han), Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. seventh century) et al., *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 (*Rites of Zhou Annotated with Commentaries*), ch. 35, 42a; ch. 39, 18b and others (in *Siku quanshu*). A detailed survey of references to latrines in premodern China is Shang Binghe 尚秉和, *Lidai shehui fengsu shiwu kao* 歷代社會風俗事物考 (An Examination of Social Customs and Objects throughout the Ages) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), 268–272. For references and stories, see also Lin Fushi 林富士, *Xiao lishi – lishi de bianchui* 小歷史 – 歷史的邊陲 (Small History – Border Areas of History) (Taipei: San min shuju, 2000), 155–164.

132. Zhang Jianlin 張建林 and Fan Peisong 範培松, "Qiantan Handai de ce 淺談漢代的廁" (A Preliminary Discussion of the Han Dynasty Toilet), *Wenbo* 文博 (*Relics and Museology*) 4 (1987): 53–58.

133. *Hanyu da zidian* (*suoyin ben*) 漢語大字典 (縮印本) (Wuhan: Hubei cishu chubanshe, 1996 [1992]), 375, s.v. *ce* 廁.

134. Xu Shen 許慎 (58–147 CE), *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (*Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters*), ch. 6B, 7b; ch. 9B, 5b; ch. 11A, 12a., and more (in *Siku quanshu*); and Kong Xi 孔熙 (Han), *Shiming* 釋名 (*Explaining Terms*), ch. 5, 8b (in *Siku quanshu*). A study of all of these terms is impossible here, but one has been initiated by Enno Giele at the Free University of Berlin.

135. *Hanyu da zidian*, 713–714, s.v. *hun* 溷, and 302, s.v. *hun* 圂.

136. On urbanization in ancient China, see Chen Shen, "Early Urbanization in the Eastern Zhou in China: an Archaeological View," *Antiquity* 68, no. 261 (1994): 724–744.

137. Cf. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Mozi xiangu* 墨子閒詁 (*Commentary on the Mozi*), ch. 14 (*Beichengmen* 備城門, *Fortification of the City Gate*), in *Zhuzi jicheng* 諸子集成 (Collection of the Various Schools of Thought), eds. Guoxue zhenglishe 國學整理社 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954), 311.

138. However, not all toilets were connected with pigsties, as is shown by the existence of a roadside toilet (*yan* 匽), constructed for the use of officials (cf. *Zhouli zhushu*, ch. 6, 9a). This facility resembles the roadside toilets (*lu ce* 路廁) that are still found throughout rural China.

139. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu* 春秋左傳注疏 (*Chunqiu and Zuozhuan Annotated with Commentaries*), ch. 26, 10a (in *Siku quanshu*).

140. A series of model artefacts, including the ingenious Han toilet constructions, can be found in Nicole De Bisscop, *Onder Dak in China* (Under a Roof in China) (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2007), 117, 122–123, 125. Flush toilets do not seem to have existed in the first millennium. Chen Yuan 陳垣 assumes that this type of toilet was in use at least from the time of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661–1722). To support this, he refers to the *Fang Wangxi ji* 方望溪集 (Collections of Fang Wangxi) by Fang Bao 方苞 (1668–1749), the founder of the Tongcheng literary school (Tongcheng pai 桐城派), who describes the mechanism of a flush toilet in a Yunnan monastery in a letter to a departing friend (*zeng xu* 贈序), the monk Jie'an 介庵 . According to Chen Yuan, this was long before the flush toilet came into widespread use throughout China. Cf. Chen Yuan 陳垣 , *Mingji Dian Qian fojiao kao* 明季滇黔佛教考 (A Study of Buddhism in the Yunnan and Guizhou in the Late Ming) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1940] 1962), 175; Fang Bao 方苞 , *Fang Wangxi ji* 方望溪集 (Collected Works of Fang Wangxi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), ch. 7, 101.

141. Zhang and Fan, "Qiantan Handai de ce," 53–58. See also Raimund Kolb, *Landwirtschaft im alten China. Teil I: Shang-Yin* (Berlin: Systemata Mundi, 1992), 111–112.

142. See, for instance, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Scribe) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), ch. 9, 410 and ch. 87, 2539.

143. Cf. Qinghua Guo, *Chinese Architecture and Planning: Ideas, Methods, Techniques* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2006), 42–43.

144. Cf. Liu Xin 劉歆 (50 BCE–23 CE), *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (*Miscellaneous Writings of the Western Capital*), ch. 4, 8a (in *Siku quanshu*). The *Xijing zaji* was written by the well known palace librarian Liu Xin (d. 23) and was later collected (or re-collected) by the famous alchemist Ge Hong (283–343). It contains a considerable number of anecdotes relating to the Han capital Chang'an (see Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History – A Manual* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 790).

145. Besides *bianqi*, the literature contains several other terms for 'urinal'. One of these is *xieqi* 褻器, which features in a chapter of the *Zhouli*. The Late Han commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), referring to Zheng Sinong's 鄭司農 (d. 83 CE) interpretation, identified this as a chamber vessel. Cf. *Zhouli zhushu*, ch. 6, 24a (in *Siku quanshu*). Moreover, in the *Shuowen jiezi* there is the term wei 槭. According to the Han dynasty commentator Jia Kui 賈逵 (30–101 CE), *wei* means the same as *huzi*, testifying to the latter's early use. Cf. Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi*, ch. 6A, 12a (in *Siku quanshu*); and s.n., *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (*Dictionary of the Kangxi Period*) (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), 594.

146. Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1962), 117–119.

147. For a discussion, see Cao Jianqiang 曹建強, "Handai de taoce 漢代的陶廁" (Ceramic Toilets in the Han Dynasty), *Gujin nongye* 古今農業, no. 4 (1999): 79–80, 83.

148. The use of the tiger image can be associated with such concepts as manhood and bravery (see Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 103 and passim).

149. Cf. http://www.corbisimages.com/stock-photo/rights-managed/RM001022/early-chinese-vessels-with-highfired-glaze (last access 8 April, 2012).

150. For a discussion, see Charles Benn, *Daily Life in Traditional China – The Tang Dynasty* (Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 2000), 82–83.

151. Cf. Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu*, ch. 34, 241.

152. Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu*, ch. 30, 233. The Tang dynasty compilers of the *Jinshu* 晋書, the dynastic history of the Jin dynasty, also insert this *Shishuo xinyu* passage in their text (cf. Fang Xuanliang 房玄齡 et al., *Jinshu* 晋書 (*Book of Jin*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), ch. 98, 2566). Apart from this story, the *Jinshu* contains several other stories about toilets, testifying that the toilet was an integral part of elite houses in post-Han times. For an overview of toilet stories, see Benn, *Daily Life*, 82–83. The mentioning of toilet servants is noteworthy and can be corroborated by an earlier reference of the Han dynasty to a functionary (*li ce* 吏廁) taking care of toilet affairs (see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, ch. 9, 410; ch. 87, 2539). In the period of the Warring States, we hear of a man from the state of Jin 晉 called Yu Rang 豫讓 who did toilet service in the palace of his state as a disguised outlaw (*Shiji*, ch. 86, 2519).

153. Pei Qi 裴啟 , *Pei Qi Yulin* 語林 (*The Garden of Speeches by Pei Qi*), ed. Zhou Lengqie 周楞伽 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1988), 43.

154. Wang Zhixuan's hypothesis certainly has merit, yet, in our view, the presence of numerous bamboo strips among piles of human excrement is insufficient to prove his claim for their use. The strips may simply have been thrown away along with other garbage and filth. For a detailed discussion of the history of the toilet scraper in premodern China, see Wang Zhixuan 王志軒 , "Cechou zakao 廁籌雜考 " (Miscellaneous Research on Toilet Spatulae), *Huaxia kaogu* 華廈考古, no. 1 (2010): 133–135, 152.

155. Jean-Pierre Drège is convinced that the wiping stick has an Indian origin. He also refers to the term *gan shi jue* 乾屎橛 , a synonym of *ce chou*, which is mainly used in Chan texts (Drège, *Les bibliothèques en Chine*, 162, note 100). A reference to the wiping stick in non-Buddhist Indian sources remains to be found.

156. Even today, in rural areas of China, use of the scraper as a toilet utensil has not completely disappeared. Chinese colleagues have confirmed this.

157. Cf. Benn, *Daily Life*, 117; see Liu Yiqing, *Youming lu* 幽明錄 (*Records of the Hidden and the Visible World*), in a substantial thematical entry on toilets of the *Taiping yulan* (*Imperially Inspected Anthology of the Taiping Era*, a vast encyclopedia compiled in the tenth century), ch. 186, 11a (in *Siku quanshu*).

158. On the invention and spread of paper in China and wider East Asia, see Tsien, *Paper and Printing*.

159. Jean Sauvaget, *Ahbar As-sin wa l-Hind – Relation de La Chine en de L'Inde* (Paris: Société d'Edition les Belles Lettres, 1948), 25; A. Kevin Reinhardt, "Impurity/No Danger," *History of Religions* 30, no. 1 (1990): 1–24.

III. Cleaning the mouth and teeth

The two previous chapters have shown how important cleaning and purifying one's body is for the Buddhist monastic community. The human body inevitably and repeatedly becomes soiled day after day, if only through the intake of food. The food process ends at the anus with the excretion of human waste, as was discussed in Chapter II. In this chapter, we focus on the starting point – namely, the mouth and the teeth. These naturally reflect the general condition of a person, his attitude towards hygiene and dignity, his health, and how he consumes food. So it is no surprise that disciplinary texts devote several paragraphs to oral, and especially dental, care. It is difficult to assess the full impact of these prescriptions, but several references to oral hygiene in medical texts indicate that Indian as well as Chinese people were not totally dismissive of dental care, and that they were prepared to adjust their habits when they felt the advice was useful.

In this chapter, we first trace how Buddhist manuals viewed oral, and specifically dental, care. What was considered necessary? How should it be put into practice? Focusing on Buddhist disciplinary texts, we analyse the opinions of *vinaya* compilers and the reactions to them among influential Chinese monastic masters, with Yijing playing the most prominent role. It seems logical to surmise that these Chinese Buddhist masters' reactions were influenced, at least to some extent, by wider Chinese society. Consequently, we also look at attitudes to oral and dental care among Chinese lay people and explore how two environments, monastic and lay, encountered each other through one of the most frequently used channels of contact: the mouth.

1. Dental care in the *vinaya* texts

As we have seen, Chinese monastics encountered a wealth of *vinaya* texts for the first time in the fifth century CE. Then, in the early eighth century, another *vinaya* translation – the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* – was added to the literature. In addition to this translation, the monk Yijing 義淨 produced a travel account, the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas* (T.2125), in which he tries to convince his fellow Chinese monks to amend many of their daily practices that, according to Yijing, transgress *vinaya* rules, irrespective of how well established these practices might be. One of the most striking features of his report is its focus on bodily care and hygiene. One of his major themes is that external cleanliness reflects internal correctness, so, for instance, he states: 'How could one allow a monk to pass his time gossiping after a meal is over, or allow him not to have a jar with pure water and not to chew tooth wood? He would have an unclean mouth for the whole morning and incur blame during the night.'[1] However, this interdependence of the external and the internal is not the only reason why Yijing stresses the importance of bodily care. Equally crucial are presenting the Buddhist community

as a dignified entity through exemplary behaviour, following a correct ascetic lifestyle, and maintaining health through good hygiene and appropriate medical treatment.

As discussed earlier, Yijing relies extensively on the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, and in fact all *vinaya*s contain extensive rules on personal care. Considerable attention is paid to all aspects of oral care, but dental care and the use of an efficient instrument to clean the teeth and the tongue, called '*dantakāṣṭha*', lit. 'tooth wood', are especially highlighted. This is a small wooden branch that the user chews. The *vinaya*s explain why monks should practise this, listing a number of specific benefits. In Chinese, *dantakāṣṭha* is usually translated as *chimu* 齒木, 'tooth wood', or *yangzhi* 楊枝, 'willow branch'.[2] In spite of this, as we shall see below, there is no evidence that tooth wood was always – or even ever – made out of willow. In fact, the *vinaya*s provide us with very little information about its physical characteristics. Only the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* provides a few details by excluding five types of wood: the lacquer tree (*qishu* 漆樹, *toxicodendron vernicifluum*), a poisonous tree (*dushu* 毒樹), a *śāka* (?) tree (*sheyi* 舍夷),[3] a *madhuka* tree (*motou* 摩頭)[4] and the *bodhi*-tree (*puti* 菩提, 'enlightenment').[5] These exclusions are imposed in order to avoid poisoning (lacquer tree, poisonous tree), intoxication (*madhuka* and possibly *śāka*) or violation of proper conduct by chewing on a branch of the species of tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment.[6]

More extensive details on tooth wood are provided by Yijing's travel account.[7] He advises fashioning it from the branches of an oak, or creepers, in a mountain village, and from the wood of mulberry, peach, locust tree or willow (*liu* 柳) on the arable land of the plains, and care should be taken never to run short. Branches with a bitter, astringent or pungent taste are good,[8] while those whose ends resemble cotton when chewed are best. Yijing also states that the rough roots of wild plants make excellent tooth wood, and adds in a note that he is referring here to burweed (*cang'er* 蒼耳), two *cun* 寸 of which should be collected from below ground level.[9] He further claims that people who are unfamiliar with tooth wood call it 'a willow branch' (*yangzhi* 楊枝), even though the willow tree (*liu* 柳) is rarely seen in western countries. Furthermore, based on his personal experience in Nālandā, he declares that the Buddha could not have used a willow branch as tooth wood. To corroborate his point, he refers to a Sanskrit version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, which he claims uses the term *chimu* 齒木, 'tooth wood', but does not contain any reference to willow.[10]

While the *vinaya*s do not provide much information on which wood to use, they do list the benefits of cleaning the teeth with tooth wood, provide instructions on how to make it, and explain how to use it correctly.

1.1. Why clean one's teeth?

When urging monks to clean their teeth, all *vinaya*s point to the same problem: everyone can suffer from foul breath.[11] This can cause annoyance when monks stay

with each other or talk with the abbot. They might be isolated, or criticized by brahmins or lay followers. Very similar arguments are employed when monks are forbidden from eating garlic, onions and leeks. The resulting bad smell has the potential to annoy fellow monks and lay people alike.[12] One *vinaya*, the *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, mentions another problem, too: without proper dental hygiene, food cannot be digested properly.[13] So cleaning one's teeth is clearly practical. It cures bad breath and digestive problems, and helps monks to avoid embarrassment in the presence of others.[14]

1.2. The benefits of using tooth wood

All of the *vinaya*s, with the exception of the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, list the benefits of chewing tooth wood. Most give five benefits, although the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* provides ten. When taken together, these present a powerful argument in favour of the use of tooth wood. The following advantages are enumerated:

– one has no foul breath[15]
– one has no bitter taste in the mouth[16]
– one can distinguish between different tastes[17]
– one can eat and digest food[18]
– diseases linked to heat and cold disappear[19]
– phlegm and saliva disappear[20]
– wind (disease) disappears[21]
– it is good for the eyes[22]

These advantages largely mirror the concerns about dental care expressed above. Foul breath, poor digestion and embarrassing situations can all be avoided by chewing tooth wood. Health plays a major role as a direct causal connection is made between an unclean mouth and health problems. The strength of this link between dental care and improved hygiene and health is striking, especially when compared with attitudes to other bodily practices.

Yijing reiterates these benefits, and claims to have witnessed them first hand when travelling in India. He writes that chewing tooth wood strengthens the teeth and eliminates foul breath.[23] Food can be digested and *yin* 癊 (here possibly meaning some sort of phlegmy disease) is cured.[24] After half a month, the nasty smell emanating from the mouth disappears; after a month, toothache and dental diseases are cured. One must chew well, wipe the teeth clean, and let saliva and phlegm run out of the mouth. Yijing also refers to a practice that he says promotes longevity, and which he attributes to Nāgārjuna[25]: after chewing, snort a spoonful of water through the nose. (If this is too difficult, the water may be drunk instead.) This will reduce sickness. Finally, Yijing warns that teeth get dirty at the roots overnight. This dirt accumulates and hardens if it is not addressed, so it should be scraped off completely. If one rinses the mouth with water and gargles,[26] one will never suffer tooth decay. For Yijing, the message is clear: toothache is almost unknown in western countries because the locals chew tooth wood.

1.3. How to make tooth wood

As with many other necessities of monastic life, the *vinaya*s prescribe how to make a piece of tooth wood. First, they give their preferred dimensions, and all state that a twig should be neither too long nor too short. Usually no reason is given for the twig's maximum prescribed length, aside from a few remarks that say it should not be of such a length that it might be used for purposes, such as cooking food or flicking someone.[27] As for minimum length, all texts refer to the danger of swallowing it.[28] The minimum length[29] varies between four and eight finger breadths (*zhi* 指, *aṅgula*), while the maximum length[30] is given as eight, twelve or sixteen finger breadths, or one hand span (*zheshou* 磔手, *vitasti*).[31] In his Chinese Buddhist dictionary, *Yiqie jing yin yi* 一切經音義, *Sounds and Meanings of All Buddhist Texts*, the monk Huilin 慧琳 (737–820) states that tooth wood should have a minimum length of six finger breadths and a maximum of twelve, which corresponds to the Sarvāstivāda tradition.[32]

Various *vinaya*s then provide some additional information. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* stipulates that tooth wood should not be too hard or too soft.[33] It also permits the used end of a piece of tooth wood to be cut off and the remainder used again if wood is scarce.[34] Similar advice is given in the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, which adds that the remaining section of twig should be washed before it is used again.[35] The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* advises against the use of branches from trees that produce flowers and fruit, while the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* stipulates that tooth wood should not be fashioned from twigs with leaves or from bark alone.[36]

The Chinese master Yijing also offers some practical advice on how to make tooth wood: one may either break a large piece of wood or cut a thinner branch into pieces. Fresh twigs should be offered to others, while dry ones may be kept for one's personal use.[37] Young and strong people can simply chew the twigs, but older monks should hammer one end of the tooth wood to soften it.[38]

1.4. How to use tooth wood

The *vinaya*s place chewing tooth wood in the same category as relieving oneself, so it should be done with similar discretion and respect. Chewing should be avoided in the vicinity of a *stūpa*[39] or a statue,[40] and when in the presence of the Buddha, a teacher, a senior, or important lay people.[41] It must not be done in a crowded place or, generally, inside buildings, although some texts allow exceptions in the latter case.[42] It is specifically prohibited in the bathing house, the dining hall, the kitchen, the lecture hall, and areas used for walking (as a meditation exercise).[43] Ideally, tooth wood should be chewed only in a secluded place,[44] with some *vinaya*s additionally stipulating that the toilet cannot be used for this purpose.[45]

In addition to stipulations that aim to avoid embarrassment and preserve the dignity of the *saṃgha*, the *vinaya*s contain several rules that seem to have been drafted out of concern for both respect and hygiene. Used tooth wood is soiled, so it should be dis-

posed of properly. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* stipulates that it should never be chewed near a well, as this might soil the water.[46] Similarly, the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* says that no chewing should take place where water is stored or feet are washed.[47] Also, tooth wood should be washed before it is thrown away.[48] If not, an insect might eat it and die as a consequence.[49] The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* is even more precise and says that both the hands and the tooth wood should be washed before chewing commences. After chewing, the user should clean the tooth wood again before disposing of it.[50] In addition, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* stipulates that a sound should be made to warn potential passers-by before throwing away a piece of tooth wood (as when emptying a chamber pot over a wall).[51] Finally, the *vinaya*s assert that all improper use should be avoided. As mentioned above, this includes using tooth wood to flick someone or to cook food,[52] as well as binding sandals with it.[53]

These stipulations for chewing tooth wood emphasize that it is a private matter, so it should only ever be done in a secluded place. By following this rule, Buddhist monastics will display respectful and exemplary behaviour. Furthermore, all monks should clearly refrain from soiling their daily environment.

1.5. What if tooth wood does not solve the problem?

Chewing tooth wood might be insufficient to clean the mouth and teeth thoroughly. Therefore, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* allows the use of a toothpick (*zhai chi wu* 摘齒物) to remove food fragments from between the teeth.[54] This should not be made out of precious material, but rather bone, ivory, horn, copper, iron, solder, lead, tin, *śalākā* (*sheluo* 舍羅),[55] grass, bamboo, reed or wood. It should be washed and dried before use.[56]

A more common utensil than the toothpick is the tongue scraper, which is used to remove any remaining debris from the mouth.[57] The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* stipulates that tongue scrapers should be washed and put away after use. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* further indicates that the knife (*gua she dao* 刮舌刀) should not be made out of precious material, but rather bone, ivory, horn or some similar substance, as with the toothpick. The knife should be washed and dried before it is used to scrape the tongue. The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* is even more precise: a fine-toothed comb (*gua she bi* 刮舌篦), ideally made out of copper or iron (rather than any precious material), should be employed to scrape the tongue. It should not be too sharp. If iron or copper is not available, the tongue scraper may be fashioned from split and bent tooth wood,[58] with the hard end cut off to prevent injury and infection.

1.6. Are there any alternatives?

If no tooth wood is available, the *vinaya*s suggest a variety of alternatives. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* mentions the use of ashes (*hui* 灰),[59] alkaline soil (*lu tu* 鹵土),[60] stone[61] or (various kinds of) vegetation when rinsing the mouth.[62] The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* recommends the use of bath beans (*zao dou* 澡豆), ashes (*tu xie* 土屑) or

dried cow dung (*gan niu fen* 乾牛糞),[63] as well as gargling three times with water. Of course, we might baulk at the prospect of putting some of these products in our mouths, so it is tempting to think that the compilers of the *vinaya*s simply invented these techniques by adapting methods used during bathing or when visiting the toilet. However, there is evidence that ashes (powdered and otherwise), alkaline soil (or salt) and even dried cow dung *were* used as teeth-cleaning agents.[64]

1.7. Concluding remarks

The teeth and the mouth stand at the very beginning of the digestion process. A good start can prevent a lot of health problems, so dental care is of primary importance. At the same time, the teeth and mouth act as a mirror of the personality. Good teeth and breath indicate a healthy, worthy and trustworthy person who is pure in body and mind. This latter link between good dental hygiene and inner purity is strongly underlined by Yijing. The *vinaya* texts explain at length how to make the most efficient tool for teeth cleaning: a piece of tooth wood that should be chewed. This chewing (and thus cleaning) activity is seen as a private matter, and it might even be a source of embarrassment since the chewer will display his dirt and produce excess saliva. Moreover, one should not watch others who are in the process of cleaning their teeth as this may lead to a loss of mutual respect. Chewing therefore needs to be practised in a most discreet way. Both the health and the dignity of the *saṃgha* are maintained when monks look after their mouths and teeth and keep them clean. The Chinese *vinaya* masters learned this aspect of oral and dental care when they translated or studied the Indian *vinaya*s, and they subsequently included it in their own manuals for the organization of the Chinese monastic community.

2. Dental care in Chinese disciplinary texts

2.1. Great (Sūtra) of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk

After the translation of four full *vinaya*s in the early fifth century, *vinaya* rules became widely known in Chinese monasteries, and Chinese masters started to write their own commentaries and additions. One such text is the well-known *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀, *Great* (*Sūtra*) *of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*, probably compiled in China in the fifth century.[65] This includes a detailed section on oral care, with instructions on how to gargle, how to clean the teeth and how to scrape the tongue.[66] Links to health are rarely made, however. When describing the correct gargling technique, the focus is on appropriate and respectful behaviour. A monk's gargling should not cause embarrassment to others and certainly not to superiors. Disrespect should never be shown to a *stūpa* of the Buddha, nor should a monk gargle when greeting or having a discussion with someone. Gargling should not be performed above a ditch or in a place that needs to be kept clean.

As for tooth wood, the recommendations are more practical: the twig should be of the correct dimensions, and it should be gnawed three times. (This may mean three times with each tooth, with each side of the mouth, or with the mouth as a whole.) The text also says that the juice of tooth wood may be used freely, although for what purpose remains unclear. An alternative reading of this sentence suggests using the juice to clean the eyes, so this stipulation might actually relate to eye care, rather than tooth care.[67] There are more practical recommendations in the section on tongue scraping: tooth wood may be used for this purpose, the tongue should not be scraped more than three times in a row, and the monk should stop immediately if blood is drawn. Respect and decorum are also important here: excessive shaking should be avoided while tongue scraping so that clothes and feet are not soiled; and the tooth wood should not be disposed of where people pass by, but in a secluded place.[68]

Interestingly, Daoist monastic manuals also contain descriptions of the use of tooth wood, probably gleaned from Buddhist texts. The seventh-century text on Daoist monastic precepts, the *Xuanmen Shishi weiyi* 玄門十事威儀, *Ten Items of Taoist Ceremonial* (DZ 792, fasc. 564),[69] includes a chapter on washing and rinsing (7b–8b). This stipulates that teeth should be cleaned by chewing a willow branch and rinsing the mouth after a meal. In this way, dirt is washed away, and 'tooth wind' (*chi feng* 齒風) is eliminated.[70] If tooth wood is not available, pure ashes (*jing hui* 淨灰) may be used instead. Both of these methods of dental care should be performed with special chants that connect this everyday task to the greater aim of celestial purity.[71] More references to the use of a willow branch are found in another seventh-century Daoist text, the *Dongxuan lingbao qianzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶千真科, *Rules for a Thousand Perfected, Contained in the Mystery Cavern of Numinous Treasure* (DZ 1410, fasc. 1052).[72] In much the same way as the Buddhist disciplinary texts, the *Dongxuan lingbao qianzhen ke* provides detailed guidelines for daily life in a monastic community – for nuns as well as monks. Among the many details on personal care, one regulation says that the mouth and teeth should be cleaned with a willow branch (*yangzhi* 楊枝) (16a) after the *zhai* 齋 meal.[73] Finally, the seventh-century *Shenren shuo sanyuan weiyi guanxing jing* 神人說三元威儀觀行經, *Scripture of Behavioural Observation Based on the Dignified Observances of the Three Primes Revealed by the Spirit Man*, also contains a section on rinsing the mouth. As we have seen in the two previous chapters, this text is highly influenced by the aforementioned Buddhist manual *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, *Great* (*Sūtra*) *of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*. Clearly inspired by the guidelines on gargling contained in its Buddhist counterpart, it pleads for thorough cleaning of the mouth after every meal.[74]

In Daoist as well as Buddhist contexts, purity of the mouth clearly goes beyond personal care and the practicalities of communal life. It involves various connected realities, ranging from medical conditions to the need for exemplary monastic behaviour, or from the ideal of an ascetic life and a pure mind such as that demanded by Yijing to Daoist celestial purity. As we have seen, the link between bodily cleanliness and a more abstract purity of the mind was also familiar to Confucian households. Nevertheless, as Edward Schafer has noted, this does not seem to have led to widespread

cleaning of the teeth in Chinese society.[75] In this context, it is striking that Confucian standard histories mention this custom when discussing foreigners, possibly implying that it was not practised in China. Indeed, in two of the so-called *Dynastic Histories* – the *Beishi* 北史 , *History of the Northern Dynasties*, and the *Suishu* 隋書, *History of the Sui* – we are told that the people of Zhenla 真臘, in present-day Cambodia, routinely use a willow branch (*yangzhi* 楊枝) to clean their teeth.[76]

On the other hand, some Chinese Buddhist authors, probably influenced by the Indian texts, discuss the practice of chewing tooth wood in considerable detail, as will be seen in the next section.

2.2. Dental care as described by Chinese vinaya *masters*

When discussing oral care, the *vinaya*s introduce several different themes. They take into account hygiene and medical conditions, offer practical guidelines, and stipulate rules for respectful behaviour. The later texts by Chinese Buddhist commentators and travellers place special emphasis on the last of these themes. For instance, in a text on disciplinary rules for new monks, the famous *vinaya* master Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) stipulates that chewing and spitting should always be carried out in a secluded place[77] before going on to explain that tooth wood and ashes may be used for teeth cleaning. Moreover, teeth should never be cleaned in front of a senior, and the mouth should be covered with the hand.[78]

Information on teeth-cleaning techniques is also provided in several travel accounts. Faxian 法顯 and Xuanzang 玄奘 briefly refer to this topic, specifically tooth wood, when they report that a tooth twig used by the Buddha was planted and grew into a large and indestructible tree, a symbol of the *dharma*.[79] Xuanzang also praises the cleanliness of the people of northern India and in this respect mentions their habit of chewing tooth wood.[80]

Yijing provides much more detail in his travel account. He advises chewing tooth wood on several separate occasions and also advocates teeth cleaning, tongue scraping and mouth rinsing. A clean mouth testifies to a monk's and, by extension, the *saṃgha*'s purity.[81] In fact, 'a monk is considered defiled as soon as he has put food into his mouth'.[82] Pollution caused by food is a quite common topic among Buddhist authors, even to the extent that food is sometimes considered to be a source of cosmic decadence.[83] Although Yijing does not go that far, he clearly feels that food has the potential to be a pollutant. In this sense, tooth wood is viewed as a symbol of cleansing and even of purification. Consequently, as Pierre C. Salguero has shown, the used tooth wood of eminent monks could be credited with extraordinary healing power, given its close and frequent contact with the monk's body.[84] Yijing further instructs that teeth cleaning should be performed with all necessary discretion, in a secluded place,[85] and reiterates the *vinaya*s' other familiar themes: care for health and hygiene, and a focus on exemplary behaviour.



Figure 9. A foolish heretic preparing for conversion to Buddhism, Dunhuang mural, Mogao cave 196
(Courtesy of Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 , Dunhuang Academy)

However, as he does when discussing so many topics, Yijing adds the theme of purity and asceticism.[86] Any remnants of food remaining in the mouth after eating imply a breach of the rule stipulating that nothing should be consumed after noon. Any such remnants should therefore be removed immediately. A monk should wipe his lips with bath beans (*dou xie* 豆屑) or mud to remove any scent of grease.[87] Before rinsing his mouth with pure water, he should spit out all saliva, certainly before noon. If not, he commits an offence.[88] Nevertheless, some flexibility is required, since Yijing accepts that some food might remain between the teeth or on the tongue no matter how many precautions are taken.[89] Interestingly, he complains that, although Buddhist monks must chew tooth wood, Chinese monks do not do so.[90] Moreover, the Japanese monk Ennin 円仁, who travelled in China between 838 and 847, mentions the custom of rinsing the mouth after eating, but has nothing to say about tooth wood.[91] Nevertheless, chewing tooth wood was not completely unknown in China, as is indicated by a mural in a Dunhuang Mogao cave. Drawn on the wall of cave 196, which dates from 892–893, this shows a male figure, representing a foolish heretic preparing for conversion to Buddhism, chewing tooth wood (Fig. 9).[92] While this does not prove that all Chinese monks practised this method of teeth cleaning, it does at least show that some were aware of it.

No matter how widespread the practice, awareness of chewing tooth wood as a method of teeth cleaning certainly endured. In this context, it is striking that a chapter on toilet facilities in a highly influential monastic text, the *Chanyuan qing gui* 禪苑清規, *Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, compiled in 1103, stipulates that a monk should rinse his mouth (*guanshu* 盥漱), then adds in a note that, according to the *vinaya*, this means chewing tooth wood.[93] This note seems to imply that, although mouth rinsing was a common practice, chewing tooth wood was not. About a century later, in the *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用, *Daily Life in the Assembly*, a monastic text compiled in 1209 by the Chan monk Wuliang Zongshou 無量宗壽 and based on the *Chanyuan qing gui*, there is another mention of the obligatory use of tooth wood.[94] The text also mentions a kind of tooth medicine (*chi yao* 齒藥) that is rubbed on the teeth, with the precise instruction that the right hand should be used to rub the left side of the mouth and vice versa. Of course, this means that a hand should never come into contact with the medicine more than once, so any liquids or other substances from the mouth will not be transferred to other people. To modern readers, this might sound like a rational guideline to prevent passing on infections. But this cannot be corroborated in the Buddhist text. On the contrary, this guideline might well have been included to emphasize the importance of not soiling others (out of respect). In the same vein, when spitting out water, a monk should use his hands to direct the flow and prevent his spit ending up in a neighbour's basin.[95]

These sources indicate that the practice of chewing tooth wood was still known in China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but they certainly do not provide concrete evidence that it was widespread. Moreover, according to the thirteenth-century Japanese monk Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), who travelled in China from 1223 to 1227, Chinese monks did not know how to use tooth wood, even though discipli-

nary texts urged them to clean their teeth. As a result, their breath was foul. Dōgen seems to be quite fascinated by this, going into lengthy discussions on the subject in his *Shōbō genzo* 正法眼藏, *Eye of the Treasury of the Right Dharma*.[96] He states that tooth wood is unknown at the imperial court and among the common people. Nevertheless, he asserts that a few people fit an inch of horse hair into a piece of ox horn to create a teeth-cleaning utensil that resembles a tiny horse's mane. However, he says that this item is inappropriate for monks' use.[97] He further points out that chewing tooth wood, then scraping the tongue and rinsing the mouth, is a common practice in his monastery in Japan. Following the Chinese masters, Dōgen also emphasizes the importance of purity, stating that purifying the body equates to purifying the mind.

3. Concluding remarks: paste, brushes and tooth wood

In conclusion, we can say that oral and dental care was a matter of considerable concern for all monastic masters. However, while the *vinaya* texts mostly highlight health and decorum, with a particular focus on respect for each other and for oneself, Chinese masters emphasize purity. The mouth and teeth were therefore seen as a mirror of a person's attitude towards food, health, dignity and purity. In India, health and decorum are paramount; in China, this shifts to decorum and purity. With the exception of Yijing, Chinese masters rarely refer to medical issues.

Physical cleaning of the mouth and teeth is a very different matter. Although many texts give instructions on how to proceed, we cannot be certain which of the various prescribed techniques – if any – were employed by Chinese monastics in their daily lives. Indian texts all recommend the use of tooth wood, but while Chinese masters were aware of this technique, it seems that it was not widely practised in China, if at all. On the other hand, certain powdery substances might have been in fairly widespread use for teeth cleaning (see below), and mouth rinsing seems to have been a quite common practice, as mentioned in travel reports and disciplinary texts alike.

Nevertheless, the impact of some *vinaya* guidelines should not be underestimated. While Dōgen asserts that Chinese monks never use tooth wood, he claims that this practice is common in his Japanese monastery. Chinese monastic masters were probably similarly keen to follow *vinaya* guidelines, so chewing tooth wood might have been more widespread in China than the literature suggests. For instance, in his description of the early twentieth-century monasteries of central China, Johannes Prip-Møller remarks that the monks chew or hammer a thin willow branch in order to split it and turn it into a tool resembling a stiff brush, which they use to clean their teeth after each meal.[98] This routine is an adaptation of earlier practices: the early disciplinary guidelines advise chewing willow branches in order to clean the teeth, whereas the twentieth-century monks do not chew their twigs (except to soften the end), but instead fashion tools resembling toothbrushes.

The subject of oral and dental practices in monasteries cannot be discussed without reference to wider Chinese (lay) society. What instructions did future monastics receive in their youth, before they left home? Were they familiar with any teeth-cleaning utensils? What did lay people expect of monastics? In order to answer these questions, we now turn our attention to the lay world, and try to determine which objects and practices were employed in early imperial China.

3.1. Oral hygiene practices in early imperial China, the yangsheng *tradition*

If we are to shed light on the oral hygiene routines that may have been practised by an aspirant monk of the first millennium, it is essential to examine the history of dentistry in China. Indeed, the subject of dental care – and, more generally, the oral cavity (*kouqiang* 口腔) – crops up in a variety of early texts. One of these is the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, *The Yellow Emperor's Classic*, a medical text that was probably compiled between the first century BCE and the first century CE, although it contains information from a much earlier period. The *Huangdi neijing* is an anthology of all early Chinese medical thought, and it contains several entries on a variety of toothaches (*chi tong* 齒痛).[99] This interest in dentistry, with specific emphasis on dental pathologies and their therapeutic context, shows that early Chinese society was concerned about toothache and probably about dental care, too. Following the *Huangdi neijing*'s recommended treatments for dental ailments, later medical works routinely devoted increasingly detailed sections to dental diseases.[100] The importance of maintaining a healthy mouth was stressed in non-medical texts, too. One song of the *Shijing* 詩經, *Book of Songs*, or *Maoshi* 毛詩, *Books of Songs, Tradition of Mao*, the earliest collection of Chinese poetry (eleventh–sixth century BCE) and one of the Confucian classical works, for instance, emphasizes the importance of firm, white teeth for noblewomen.[101] It offers no suggestions on how this may be achieved, but it seems highly likely that at least some effort was put into keeping teeth healthy in classical China.

Early medical treatises paid more direct attention to oral hygiene. In medical theory and meta-medical thought (which views treatment as a spiritual as well as a physical process), this topic falls in the category of 'nourishing' (*yang* 養), of which 'nourishing life' (*yangsheng* 養生) is one kind. The latter refers to a collection of practices, techniques and recommendations for nourishing life, which developed from the original idea that health can be improved and longevity assured by taking care of the body and the mind and by employing specific methods for this purpose. Such methods include dietetic prescriptions, herbal preparations, gymnastic exercises and cultivation of the spirit. These techniques were first collected and then developed during the Warring States period (fifth century–221 BCE).[102] In these texts, practical instructions appear alongside alchemistic guidelines that have their roots in the age-old Daoist search for longevity. In addition to this link to alchemy, instructions on oral care are usually connected with dental treatment.[103]

The earliest instructions on proper dental care date back to around the beginning of the Common Era. The most common practice is simply rinsing the mouth (*shu kou* 漱口) with water. Thus, by the time the first Chinese Buddhist monks were ordained, mouth rinsing probably formed part of a daily routine of oral care in the lay world. References to the *shu kou* method appear in the early centuries CE and can be traced throughout medical and philosophical writing in China. One of the most important passages on dental care appeared in the fourth-century *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集, *Essential Compendium on Nourishing Life*, written by Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 370 CE).[104] This text has long been lost, but Zhang's instructions have been partially preserved in several later works, such as the *Ishinpō* 醫心方, *Methods from the Heart of Medicine*, completed in 984 by the Japanese scholar Tamba no Yasuyori 丹波康頼 (912–995). This comprehensive Japanese collection of medical writings played a central role in the transmission of Chinese medical knowledge to Japan.[105] The *Yangsheng yaoji* stipulates: 'After eating, rinse the mouth many times, then one will not suffer from caries.'[106]

A number of other techniques were also recommended to keep the oral cavity clean and fresh, and the teeth strong and untainted. These include the application and imbibing of some rather unusual medicinal substances. In his *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, *The Master Embracing Simplicity*, the Daoist master Ge Hong 葛洪 (fourth century) provides what looks like a fully developed, albeit rather alchemistic, scheme to tackle dental issues. He mentions that teeth should be nurtured with vinegar (*hua chi* 華池) and soaked in an exudate of new wine (*li ye* 醴液). This treatment should be repeated about 300 times, which will result in shiny, strong teeth that will remain so for a long time. According to Ge Hong, other teeth-strengthening methods are to hold yellow dock extract (*dihuang jian* 地黃煎) or mica broth (*xuandan tang* 玄膽湯) in the mouth, and to imbibe pills of snake fat (*shezhi wan* 蛇脂丸), alum (*fanshi wan* 礬石丸) and jujube powder (*jiu zao san* 九棗散). Any loose teeth will soon be held securely in their sockets and the wormy (rotten) ones will be cured. Taking *lingfei* powder (*lingfei san* 靈飛散) can even encourage the regeneration of lost teeth.[107] Given the strangeness of these products and techniques, we must doubt that they were used widely in everyday life, and there is certainly no evidence for their effectiveness. So it seems unlikely any young monk entering a monastery would have been aware of them, let alone would have used them in his own dental care routine. However, in addition to illustrating that early Chinese writers assumed there was a link between healthy teeth and general good health, the passage reveals that considerable effort was put into developing techniques that it was hoped would improve oral hygiene around this time.

One prominent physician of the Tang dynasty, Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (ca. 581–682), assimilated various instructions relating to dental care from the preceding centuries. However, although he included passages from the *Baopuzi*, Sun's recommended techniques are much more practical. In his masterpiece, *Beiji qianji yaofang* 备急千金要方, *Essential Prescriptions Worth a Thousand Golds for Managing Urgent Situations*, Sun devotes two chapters to nourishing the body. With respect to keeping the

oral cavity in good health, he states: 'After eating, rinse the mouth several times. It prevents the development of caries and gives the mouth a pleasant smell.'[108] He then suggests using salt as a teeth-cleaning agent. Elsewhere, he advocates rinsing the teeth a hundred times with a solution of salt in hot water, which he claims will make the mouth and teeth firm and strong within five days.[109] In recommending salt, Sun echoes the prescribed use of alkaline soil (or rock salt) in the *vinaya* texts. However, there is no evidence for the transmission of this practice from India to China, so it seems likely that it developed independently in the two regions. Finally, Sun suggests clicking the teeth (*kou chi* 叩齒)[110] to keep them clean. This seems to be an original Chinese teeth-cleaning technique.[111] An early description of it appeared in the aforementioned *Baopuzi*,[112] and this passage must have been highly regarded, as the relevant fragment was copied by the Northern Wei official and scholar Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–ca. 591), whom we last met in connection with the use of toilet paper. Yan includes the teeth-clicking technique in his *Yanshi jiaxun*, *Family Instructions of Yan*, as follows:

> Once I suffered from loose teeth that tended to fall out. When I had warm drinks and cold meals, I had a lot of pain. The *Baopuzi* says: 'The method of strengthening the teeth is to click them. Less then three hundred times is sufficient.' I did this for several days in a row and my teeth became even and cured. I have been doing it until today. In a lifetime it is but a small exercise. It does not harm in any way and it can still heal things.[113]

A most influential medical work from the Sui dynasty, the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論, *Aetiology and Symptoms of Medical Disorders*, written by Chao Yuanfang 巢元方 (seventh century),[114] continues the *yangsheng* tradition. Chao incorporates passages from several earlier *yangsheng* works, including the aforementioned *Yangsheng yaoji* and the *Yangsheng fang* 養生方, *Recipes for Nurturing Vitality*.[115] Morning hygiene routines are described in great detail, with rinsing and gargling combined with clicking (or gnashing) the teeth:

> In the morning, before you get up, rinse and gargle with the saliva that has accumulated in your mouth, and then swallow it down. Then gnash your teeth twice seven times. This will make you vigorous and fine in appearance. You will get rid of worms and harden the teeth.[116]

From the above medical and paramedical texts, it is clear that teeth clicking and mouth rinsing (with or without a salt solution) were the most common methods of dental care in first-millennium China. So it seems highly likely that any young aspirant monk would have been familiar with these techniques before entering the monastery. However, there was probably more to his daily oral hygiene routine than mere rinsing and clicking.

3.2. Tools used in oral hygiene

In marked contrast to early Indian sources, early *yangsheng* texts make little reference to teeth-cleaning tools. This would seem to suggest that the heretic depicted in the aforementioned Dunhuang fresco was employing a foreign technique that must have arrived in China via the Silk Road.[117] However, the history of dental tools in China is somewhat more complicated than that. As we explain below, from at least Han China onwards, there was a tradition of cleaning the teeth with either a toothpick or a prototypical toothpicking implement. Moreover, this custom seems to have evolved independently as it predates the introduction of Buddhism to China and therefore also predates Chinese Buddhist monks' commentaries on Indian practices.

The Han era *yangsheng* text *Yinshu* 引書, *Pulling Document*, was excavated from tomb no. 247 at Mount Zhangjia 張家山 in Jiangling 江陵 county. This manual of therapeutic gymnastics (*daoyin* 導引), inscribed on bamboo, influenced later *yangsheng* texts and includes an entry on the benefits of picking the teeth for oral hygiene and general health.[118] It states: 'Get up early, wash and rinse the mouth with water, and pick the teeth (*shu chi* 漱齒)'.[119] The practice of *shu chi* clearly refers to removing particles from between the teeth, which implies the use of some kind of toothpick (although use of the fingers or even the tongue for this purpose cannot be ruled out entirely). The passage itself provides no further information on the tool(s) that members of the Han era elite might have used in their daily routine of teeth cleaning. However, clarification is provided by the funeral culture of the time, which, as we saw earlier, is an extremely valuable resource in the study of early Chinese material culture. The tomb of Gao Rong 高榮, in the city of Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi province), was excavated in 1979. Gao Rong, who was probably a general, lived at the end of the Han or the beginning of the Three Kingdoms period (*Sanguo* 三國, third century CE), and he was buried with several tools that were deemed essential for his smooth passage into the after-life, including a golden dragon-shaped toothpick.[120]

By the Tang dynasty, much more attention was being paid to oral care, and our aspirant monk may well have utilized a variety of tools for that purpose in his daily routine. In addition to the toothpick of earlier eras, he might have been familiar with tooth wood, said to be made from branches of the willow tree and mentioned frequently in Buddhist texts. This implement is also increasingly cited in Chinese medical texts, such as the *Huangdi neijing taisu* 黃帝內經太素, *The Great Basis of the Huangdi neijing*, also known as the *Taisu jing* 太素經, *The Classic of the Great Basis*, a commentary on the medical classic *Huangdi neijing* that was compiled around 656 by Yang Shangshan 楊上善. According to this text, 'the teeth are the extremities of the bone. If one polishes the teeth with a bitter piece of the willow tree, then the teeth will be fresh and good.'[121] The Tang physician Wang Tao provides another detailed description of the use of willow tooth wood in his *Waitai miyao fang*, where he also prescribes the application of tooth powder containing hemp to keep the teeth fragrant and shiny (*shengma kaichi fang* 升麻揩齒方). The powder should be applied after gnawing the end of a stick of willow tooth wood (*yangliuzhi* 杨柳支) until it

has become soft.[122] Clearly, this indicates that tooth powders (*san* 散) and mouth washes were being used around this time to combat bad breath.[123]

Until the end of the first millennium, then, common teeth-cleaning regimens involved a variety of techniques, such as gargling and gnawing tooth wood. Around the turn of the millennium, though, a more sophisticated utensil seems to have been added to lay society's dental care arsenal. Compelling evidence for this was provided by the excavation of a Liao 遼 dynasty (907–1125) tomb, when a toothbrush with a bristle made out of plant material (*zhimao yashua* 植毛牙刷) was unearthed. This artefact is reminiscent of the implement described by Dōgen in his *Shōbō genzo* (see above), albeit with a different sort of bristle set in a bone rather than an ox-horn handle.[124] Supporting evidence came when a similar artefact was retrieved from a Tang–Song excavation site in Chengdu 成都 (Sichuan 四川 province) in 1986.[125] Furthermore, the toothbrush is mentioned in at least one source dating from the Yuan dynasty. Written by Li Pengfei 李鵬飛 (dates unknown), the *Sanyuan canzan yanshou shu* 三元延壽參贊書, *Record of Advices Regarding Life Prolongation, According to the Three Principles*, belongs to the *yangsheng* tradition. According to Li, toothbrush bristles were made out of *mawei* 馬尾 (*phytolacca acinosa* or pokeweed). However, he warns against using such tools in the early morning or when teeth are missing, and says that these implements have the potential to harm the teeth. Instead, he advocates use of the ashes of *mawei*.[126]

The early centuries of the second millennium CE also witnessed further developments in tooth powder recipes, such as those mentioned in Wang Tao's work. Examples can be found in the *Yunyan guoyanlu* 雲煙過眼錄, *Records of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes*, by Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298), in the *Shengji zonglu* 聖濟總錄, *Imperial Encyclopedia of Medicine*, written by Zhao Ji 趙佶, the Huizong 徽宗 emperor (1082–1135) himself, and in a *yangsheng* work entitled *Shouqin yanglao xinshu* 壽親養老新書, *New Book on Fostering Longevity and Nourishing the Old Age of the Parents*, written by Chen Zhi 陳直 (eleventh century).[127] As we saw earlier, this technique was also advocated by Buddhists, especially by the Chan monk Wuliang Zongshou in his *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用, *Daily Life in the Assembly*, compiled in 1209.

Over the next few centuries, dental care is largely neglected in the literature, especially when compared with the vast amount of attention that is lavished on dentistry.[128] However, the court dietician Hu Sihui 忽思慧 (fourteenth century) stresses the importance of teeth cleaning in his *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要, *Important Principles of Food and Drink*, one of the few surviving medico-culinary works of the Yuan period (1279–1368). He advises brushing the teeth in the evening rather than the morning to avoid toothache. Although the brushing implement is not mentioned explicitly, the term *shua ya* (刷牙) undeniably implies the use of a brush. Hu also stresses the benefits of brushing the teeth with salt (*yan* 盐).[129] His short description of dental care reflects a continuous attention to teeth cleaning and the utilization of several different items in combination, such as a brush and salt.

Clearly, then, it seems that our aspirant young monk probably had access to a considerable number of teeth-cleaning products and utensils prior to joining the monastery, although it remains unclear how often he would have used them. Most of the popular techniques were indigenous to China, from toothpicking in the Han to the application of tooth powders in the Tang, Song and beyond. However, among all of these tools and techniques, tooth wood is a particularly intriguing. It is certainly significant that non-Buddhist sources, such as the aforementioned medical texts, mention willow tooth wood (an implement that appears frequently in *vinaya* texts). As we have seen, the Buddhist monk-traveller Yijing witnessed the use of tooth wood in seventh-century Indian Buddhist communities and referred to them using the term *yangzhi* – probably as a general name for the item, not to indicate that it was always made out of willow. In any case, the use of tooth wood was known in China by then, as several earlier Chinese medical texts testify. In lay sources, *yangzhi* is used interchangeably with *yangliuzhi*, a fuller form without any consequences for meaning. Furthermore, the Dunhuang fresco depicting a tooth wood-chewing heretic suggests that the practice travelled from India to China along the trade routes, which frequently acted as conduits for the exchange of commercial commodities, religious beliefs and cultural artefacts. Indeed, tooth wood seems to be but one of numerous imported material objects that reached the Chinese cultural sphere during the first millennium. In our view, the gradual appearance and use of the term – not exclusively but mainly in medical sources – after Buddhism had firmly taken root in China seems to confirm that tooth wood was indeed an Indian import.

Notes

1. T.2125, p.207c6–8.

2. *Chimu* 齒木 : see, for instance, *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b1; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c2; *yangzhi* 楊枝 : see, for instance, *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b17; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c15–16; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289b27.

3. *Sheyi* 舍夷 (Early Middle Chinese [ɕia'-ji], cf. Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle, Late Middle, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press, 1991), 278 and 365) is possibly a transliteration of *śāka*, any vegetable food (although it can also refer to the teak tree) (Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, 1061). The text does not say why this type of wood should not be used as tooth wood, although it may be because of its juice, as hinted at in the Pāli *vinaya*. The consumption of *śāka* (Pāli *ḍāka*) juice is forbidden in the Pāli *vinaya* (Vin I, p.246). Presumably this is linked to the potential for intoxication, since the Pāli *vinaya* connects the ban on the consumption of *śāka* juice with the ban on the juice of *madhuka*. The latter refers to the juice or nectar of flowers, and, in a more general sense, to any sweet intoxicating drink.

4. See previous note.

5. T.1421, p.176b21–22.

6. The Indian classical medical work *Suśruta Saṃhitā* stipulates under the rules of hygiene and prophylactic measures (*anāgatābādhapratiṣedha*) that a man should get up early in the morning and clean his teeth. This stipulation is followed by a detailed survey of prescriptions with respect to hygiene of the oral cavity (cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 1, "Sūtrasthāna", ch. 24, 560–564). In the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, four tree species (*nimba*, *khadira*, *madhuka* and *karañja*) were considered suitable for manufacturing tooth wood (cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, idem, 560–561). So, strikingly, while the medical tradition includes the *madhuka* tree among the suitable types of wood, Buddhist rules explicitly ban its use because of its intoxicating properties. The practice of using a twig to clean the mouth has been preserved in India into modern times. At the beginning of the twentieth century, George Watt noted the use of twigs of the *ním* (or *neem*) tree (*Azadirachta indica*) (Watt, *The Commercial Products of India* (New Delhi: Today & Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, [1908]) 1969, 780). The benefits of *neem* ingredients in toothpaste and the use of its twigs as tooth wood have been medically recognized (see, for instance, Udai Pratap Singh and Dhananjaya Pratap Singh, "Neem in Human and Plant Disease Therapy," *Journal of Herbal Pharmacotherapy* 2, no. 3 (2002): 13–28). It seems that the Indian subcontinent may have been the region where the use of a wooden utensil to keep gums and teeth in good health first became an indelible aspect of common hygiene. The tradition mirrors a similar one in a neighbouring cultural area. In the Arab world, the use of the *miswak*, i.e. tooth wood, is well known and was popularized on a large scale after the rise of Islam, although the practice can be traced back to earlier periods (see Gerrit Bos, "The Miswak, an Aspect of Dental Care in Islam," *Medical History* 37 (1993): 68–79).

7. T.2125, pp.208c2–209a7.

8. These different tastes of wood are also mentioned in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (cf. *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 1, "Sūtrasthāna", ch. 24, 561).

9. According to Luo (*Hanyu da cidian*, 5), a *cun* of the Tang dynasty (618–907) corresponds to 3 centimetres.

10. It is unclear to which passage Yijing is referring. He considers the term *chimu* 齒木 to be an equivalent of *danduojiasetuo* 憚哆家瑟詑, a transliteration of *dantakāṣṭha*, lit. 'tooth wood' (T.2125, p.208c4–5). Also, the Chinese monks Huilin 慧琳 (737–820) and Fayun 法雲

(1088–1158), who each compiled a Chinese Buddhist dictionary (*Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義, *Sounds and Meanings of All Buddhist Texts* (T.2128) and *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集, *Compilation on the Translation of Terms* (T.2131), respectively), discuss the term *dantakāṣṭha*. Both give very similar information: (in India) one usually uses the *jieduoluo* 竭多羅, the *khadira* tree, or acacia catechu (see Ciyi, *Foguang da cidian*, vol. 3, 5816, s.v. *qiediluo shu* 朅地羅樹; also transliterated as *qutuoluo* 佉陀羅 or *qiedaluo* 朅達羅). However, since that tree is not native to China, one mostly uses a willow branch (T.2128, p.691b22–23; T.2131, p.1102b6–17).

11. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.137; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b17–18; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505a26–b2; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c15–17; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289b26–27; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264b22–c2.

12. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.140; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176a11–26; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.483b5–c9; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.956b14–19; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.275b12–c7; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.230a6–b22. All of the *vinaya*s mention garlic. The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* adds onions and leeks. This ban on the consumption of vegetables that generate a bad smell will gradually be emphasized in China. Together with a ban on alcohol and meat, it will become a central identity marker of Chinese Buddhists, especially of monastics, but also of lay people who are equally encouraged to abstain from their consumption. A foul smell (generated by pungent vegetables and meat) is seen as very damaging to one's reputation, and thus becomes an important motive for adhering to a strict diet. For details on this development, see John Kieschnick, "Buddhist Vegetarianism in China," in *Of Tripod and Palate, Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Ann Heirman and Tom De Rauw, "Offenders, Sinners and Criminals: The Consumption of Forbidden Food," *Acta Orientalia* 59, no. 1 (2006).

13. T.1421, p.176b17.

14. Very similar reasons for cleaning the teeth can be found in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*: cleanliness, avoidance of bad breath, sharpening one's relish for food, and provoking a cheerful mind. Chewing tooth wood is particularly effective when done in combination with the use of a paste (*dantaśodhanacūrṇa*) made of honey, oil and other (pulverized) ingredients (cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 2, "Cikitsā-sthāna", ch. 24, 561–563).

15. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.137; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b20; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c18–19; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289b29; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c4.

16. *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289b29.

17. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.137; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b20; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c19; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289c2.

18. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, pp.137–138; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b19; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c19; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289c2; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c4–5.

19. *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b19 (*leng* 冷, 'cold', and *re* 熱, 'heat', disappear); *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c19 (*re* 熱, 'heat' and *yin* 癊 (see further) disappear); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289c1 and 2 (*re bing* 熱, 'diseases of heat', and *re* 熱, 'heat', disappear, counted as a double advantage); *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c3–4 (*huang re* 黃熱, 'yellow heat', disappears). The term *yin* 癊, possibly to be interpreted as some sort of phlegmy disease, is often connected to the concept of *tan* 痰, 'saliva', and associated with the principle of *yin* 陰, 'cold'. The term *huang* 黃, 'yellow', on the other hand, is usually associated with *re* 熱, 'heat'. On these and other diseases discussed in Buddhist texts, see Paul Demiéville, *Hôbôgirin, Troisième fascicule*, 249–255.

20. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.137 (phlegm and saliva do not end up on food); *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b20 (saliva disappears); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289c1 (saliva disappears); *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c4 (saliva disappears). The latter two *vinaya*s link *tan* 痰 , 'saliva', to *yin* 癊 (see previous note).

21. *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289b29 and p.289c2 (this advantage is counted twice). On 'wind disease', see Chapter I, note 44.

22. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.137; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.176b20; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c19; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.289c2; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c5.

23. T.2125, p.208c20–27.

24. See note 19.

25. This name may well refer to more than one person. Generally, Nāgārjuna is presented as a philosopher who lived in the second century, but one or more other Nāgārjunas, often seen as magicians or alchemists, might well have existed (cf. Étienne Lamottte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, Tome 1 (Louvain: Institut orientaliste, 1949), X–XIV).

26. The *Suśruta Saṃhitā* recommends gargling (*gaṇḍūṣa*) with oil (*sneha*) after cleaning the teeth. This is believed to make the teeth firm and 'bring on a natural relish for food'. Furthermore, betel-leaf prepared with cloves, camphor, lime and other products may be chewed after meals. This has many benefits, such as cleansing the mouth, providing a pleasant aroma, strengthening the voice and so on. Cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 2, "Cikitsā-sthāna", ch. 24, 562, 564.

27. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.138 (to flick a novice); *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c25–26 (to cook food and to flick a young teacher).

28. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.138; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177b27–28; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b14–17; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c24–25; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.277c15–17; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c6–20.

29. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.138 (four finger breadths); *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177b28–29 (five); *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b18 (four); *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c25–26 (four); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.277c19 (six); *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c29 (eight).

30. Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, p.138 (eight finger breadths); *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177b26 (one hand span); *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b2 and 17–18 (sixteen finger breadths); *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c21–22 (one hand span); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.277c18–19 (twelve finger breadths); *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c29 (twelve finger breadths).

31. For these measures, see Chapter II, note 38.

32. T.2128, p.691b22–23. According to the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, tooth wood 'should be made of a fresh twig of a tree or a plant grown on a commendable tract and it should be straight, not worm-eaten, devoid of any knot or at most with one knot only (on one side) and should be twelve fingers in length and like the small finger in girth' (cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 2, "Cikitsā-sthāna", ch. 24, 560–561).

33. T.1421, p.177b29.

34. T.1421, p.177c6–7.

35. T.1425, p.505b13–14.

36. T.1425, p.505b2–8 and T.1428, p.960c22–24. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, p.960c22) adds that a tooth twig should not be 'strange, unusual, rare' (*qi* 奇). The precise meaning of this is unclear.

37. Yijing gives further details in a text on how to use water (*Shou yong san shui yao xing fa* 受用三水要行發, *Essential Rules on How to Use the Three Kinds of Water*, T.1902, p.903a15): when tooth wood is new and moist, it should be cleaned with fire before it is chewed.

38. T.2125, p.208c13–18.

39. *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b9 (*stūpa*); *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.712a2–6, p.958a20–22 (*stūpa* of the Buddha); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.299c5–6 (*stūpa* of the Buddha or of a disciple).

40. *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b9–10. The same text (T.1425, p.505b23–25) adds that if someone sees used tooth wood in the garden of a *stūpa* or a *saṃgha*, they should pick it up and dispose of it. If two people see it, the younger one should dispose of it, but if he neglects to do his duty, the older one must take care of it. These details indicate that used tooth wood was seen as a dirty object, so it had to be disposed of properly and discreetly to avoid causing the *saṃgha* embarrassment.

41. *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177c8–20; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b9; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.299c4–5; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c17–18.

42. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.505b10–12) stipulates that, if one chews inside a room, one should deposit the chew (presumably meaning the saliva) in a vessel. Remnants of the tooth wood itself, however, should not be put in a vessel, but instead must be disposed of in a proper way – i.e. not in the garden of a *stūpa* or the *saṃgha*, and not where people walk regularly. The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.265a1–6) says that the Buddha allows sick and weak people to use an appropriate vessel when cleaning their mouths, rather than insisting that they must go to a secluded place.

43. *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.167c4–6, p.177c8–9; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b8–9; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c26–27; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.299c6–7; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c12–17.

44. *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177c1–3; *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.505b10, 18–19; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.960c29; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1451, p.264c18–19. See also *Sapoduo bu pinimodelejia* 薩婆多部毘尼摩得勒伽, *Sarvāstivādavinayamātṛkā*?, a commentary on the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* translated by Saṃghavarman in 435 CE (cf. Paul Demiéville, Hubert Durt and Anna Seidel, *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais*, 123; Akira Yuyama, *Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur, Erster Teil: Vinaya-Texte*, 8), T.1441, p.604c23–24: three practices must be performed in a secluded place – excretion, urination and chewing tooth wood. One should also not chew in a clean place, under a tree or next to a wall.

45. Although chewing tooth wood falls into the same category as going to the toilet, both the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.177b9–13) and the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1435, p.299c6–7) state that this must not take place either in or next to the toilet. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* adds that tooth wood should not be disposed of in cracks in the toilet wall because the twigs might damage clothes or cause injuries.

46. T.1421, p.177c3–4.

47. T.1435, p.299c3–7.

48. This should not be done under a tree root since it might disturb the spirits of the tree (*Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177b13–14).

49. *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177c4–6.

50. T.1425, p.505b19. The text adds that one should not swallow the juice, but no offence has been committed if this happens by accident. If a doctor says that one should swallow the juice for medicinal purposes, one may do so (p.505b20–22).

51. T.1451, p.265a18–23.

52. See note 27.

53. *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.177c7–8.

54. T.1428, p.961a5–10.

55. See Chapter I, note 7.

56. The *Sapoduo bu pinimodelejia* (see note 44, above), T.1441, p.604c25–26, also mentions the use of a kind of toothpick: when 'clearing out the teeth' (*ti chi* 擿齒), the toothpick should not be too sharp, and care should be taken not to injure oneself. Yijing's travel account also mentions a very small and sharp stick that is used to clean the teeth. He specifies that it is made out of bamboo or wood, and used to clean broken teeth (T.2125, p.208c9–10).

57. *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.1425, p.505b12–13); *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, pp.960c29–961a5); *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.265a6–18). In ancient India, the practice of tongue scraping (*jihvānirlekhana*) was well known, and the medical literature states that it is effective in the prevention of certain diseases. According to the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, either gold or silver tools or a ten-finger-long piece of wood should be used for tongue scraping. If done correctly, this will eliminate bad smells and tastes (cf. Bishagratna, *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 2, "Cikitsā-sthāna", ch. 24, 562).

58. Similar information can be found in Yijing's travel account (T.2125, p.208c8–9).

59. For the use of ashes, see Chapter I, note 41.

60. For a discussion of alkaline soil, see Chapter II, note 45.

61. For 'stone', we translate the characters *zhuan jiang shi* 塼礓石, 'brick', 'small stone' and 'stone'. However, this translation is far from certain. Aside from the fact that stones seem unlikely teeth-cleaning agents, it is very unusual to have this enumeration of three kinds of stone. The Taishō edition mentions a variant reading for the second character – *jiang* 薑, 'ginger'.

62. T.1425, p.505b22–23.

63. T.1451, p. p.265a24–27. For more on cow dung, see Chapter II, note 47.

64. Premodern literature (Ayurvedic or other) is rather silent on the practical application of these products, but authentication of the way they were used in India can be found in modern texts. In the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, for instance, one passage refers to the use of the powdered ash of cow dung in the not too distant past. Apparently this was used with the neem twig and salt to keep the teeth clean (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandi* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1976), vol. 67, 38).

65. T.1470, see Introduction, note 37.

66. T.1470, p.914a16–17, 19–20, p.915a29–b9 and p.921a4–7.

67. The Taishō edition (T.1470, p.915b6) has *zi yong* 自用, 'use freely', but indicates as a variant reading *mu yong* 目用, 'to use for the eyes'.

68. The stipulations of the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* are repeated by the Chinese master Daoshi 道世 (seventh century; d. 683) in his encyclopedia on Buddhism, *Zhu jing yao ji* 諸經要記, *Essentials of Buddhist Sūtras*. Daoshi also refers to the *Sarvāstivāda-*, *Dharmaguptaka-* and *Mahīśāsakavinaya*s (T.2123, p.191c9–24). Tooth wood is also included among the eighteen essential objects of a monk in the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* (T.1484, p.1008a14).

69. Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 462–463 (Tang dynasty text); Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 155–156 and *Monastic Life*, 221–222 (seventh-century text).

70. For more on wind diseases, see Chapter I, note 44. *Chi feng* ('tooth wind') refers to a specific ailment in which the teeth are affected by the wind, which may cause a variety of diseases. As such, in Chinese medical treatises, this term is incorporated in the names of several dental diseases, e.g. *chi feng teng tong* 齒風疼痛 (pain caused by tooth wind) (see Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 22, 421).

71. See Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 159–163 and *Monastic Life*, 114–119. As Livia Kohn further indicates, instructions to chant while cleaning the teeth are also found in a Buddhist context: in the *Huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, *Flower Garland Sūtra*, *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, for instance, a verse urges monks to wish all beings to be harmonious and pure in mind while cleaning their teeth (T.278, p.431a25–27; T.279, p.70b27–29).

72. See Chapter I, note 63.

73. In this context, the term *zhai* 齋 refers to the main meal of the day, just before noon. This meal had a high ceremonial value. For details, see Kohn, "Daoist Monastic Discipline," 165–174. It is linked to a ritual of purification and fasting, and to vegetarian feasts (see Livia Kohn ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 309–339).

74. Pelliot manuscript 2410, lines 195–198, and Stein manuscript 3140, lines 9–13 (last line unreadable); cf. the International Dunhuang Project Database http://idp.bl.uk/ (last access 8 April, 2012). Not surprisingly, the Daoist text, albeit very similar to its Buddhist equivalent, does not refer to Buddha *stūpa*s, as mentioned in the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*. The Stein manuscript adds that water containing small creatures should not be used. For a comparison of the manuscripts with the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, see Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 211–214.

75. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs," 62.

76. *Beishi* 北史, compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 between 630 and 650 and covering a period between 368 and 618 (cf. Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 504) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), ch. 95, 3163); *Suishu* 隋書, compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 between 629 and 636 and covering a period between 581 and 617 (cf. Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 504) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), ch. 82, 1836. *Zhenla* 真臘 is a Chinese name given to a Khmer kingdom that held power from the sixth to the eighth century.

77. *Jiaojie xin xue biqiu xing hu lu yi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀, *To Explain to Young Monks How to Protect the Vinaya Rules*, T.1897, p.870a1.

78. T.1897, p.872b17–18.

79. Faxian, T.2085, p.860b4–7; Xuanzang, T.2087, p.898c21–24. Xuanzang also mentions a similar event on p.875b1–4. For a discussion, see Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan*, 290–292.

80. T.2087, p.876c2–7.

81. T.2125, p.207a22–23, pp.207b2–c9, pp.208c1–209a7.

82. T.2125, p.207a27–28.

83. See Williams, "Some Mahāyāna Buddhist Perspectives on the Body," 218.

84. Salguero, "Healing Narratives in a Sixth-Century Chinese Buddhist Hagiography," 104.

85. T.2125, p.207b22–23. A vessel may also be utilized when chewing and scraping, or it can be done over the opening of a drain, or outside the house (lit. near the flight of steps).

86. See Heirman, "Indian Disciplinary Rules and Their Early Chinese Adepts," 269–271, and "Abridged Teaching," forthcoming.

87. Yijing adds in a note that one's hands as well as the vessel used to contain water should be cleaned using bath beans, earth or dried cow dung (T.2125, p.207b28).

88. Also in his *Shou yong san shui yao xing fa* (see note 37, above), T.1902, p.903a19–24, Yijing states that saliva should not be swallowed after chewing. Instead, one should gargle three times, as is the custom in the west. If this is not done, some grease will remain, and swallowing saliva constitutes an offence.

89. T.2125, p.207b24–c6.

90. T.2125, p.214b20–21.

91. Ennin, vol. 1, 68 and 305 (for a translation, see Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary,* 56 and 220), also discussed by Lin Boqian, *Zhongguo fojiao wen shi tan wei* 中國佛教文史探微 (Study of the History of Chinese Buddhism) (Taipei: Xiu wei zi xun ke ji, 2005), 522–523.

92. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 6, Biology and Biological Technology, Part VI: Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 91; Lin Boqian, *Zhongguo fojiao wen shi tan*, 515–517, 524–525. For a description of the scene represented on the mural, see, in particular, Sarah E. Fraser, *Performing the Visual, The Practice of Buddhist Wall Painting in China and Central Asia, 618–960* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 182–183. For an image of the full scene, see Dunhuang wenwu yanjiusuo 敦煌文物研究所 (Dunhuang Cultural Research Institute), ed., *Zhongguo shiku, Dunhuang Mogao ku* 中國石窟敦煌莫高窟 (Chinese Grottoes, Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang), vol. 4 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), fig. 184.

93. W 111, p.912a15.

94. W 111, p.946a12. A similar single reference can also be found in later thirteenth- and fourtheenth-century *qing gui* texts: *Conglin jiaoding qing gui zongyao* 叢林校定清規總要, *Essentials of the Revised Rules of Purity for Major Monasteries* (W 112, p.53a8), *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* 禪林備用清規, *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries* (W 112, p.139b2), and *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order* (T.2025, p.1145c7).

95. W 111, p.943b1–4. See also Foulk, "Daily Life in the Assembly," 462–463.

96. T.2582, pp.207a5–209a7. For a translation, see Nishijima and Cross, *The True Dharma-eye Treasure*, vol. III, 194–200. Dōgen explicictly refers to the *Mahāsāṃgikavinaya*, the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* (T.1470) and the *Fanwang jing* (T.1484) (T.2582, p.207a18–19, a26–27, b5–9, b14–15, pp.207c24–a3, p.208c9–13). Just as Faxian and Xuanzang had done before, he also describes the miraculous tree that grew out of the Buddha's willow twig in considerable detail (T.2582, p.207b18–c9).

97. T.2582, p.208b3–11.

98. Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 238.

99. Cf. s.n., *Huangdi neijing*, ch. 22, 7a. (in *Siku quanshu*). On the *Huangdi neijing*, see, in particular, Unschuld, *Huang di nei jing su wen* and Yun-cheung Kong, *Huangdi Neijing – A Synopsis with Commentaries* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2010).

100. See, for instance, chapter 22 of Wang Tao's *Waitai miyao fang*, which discusses diseases of the ear, nose, teeth and lips, and outlines respective treatments (Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 22, 418–426; see also below).

101. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648), *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (*Book of Songs, Tradition of Mao Annotated*) (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1971), ch. 3, 58a.

102. On *yangsheng* culture throughout Chinese history, see, in particular, Fabrizio Pregadio ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London, New York: Routledge, 2008), 1148–1150; and Vivienne Lo, "The Influence of Nurturing Life Culture on the Development of Western Han Acumoxa Therapy," in *Innovations in Traditional Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 22–27.

103. For a survey, see Zhou Zongqi 周宗崎 , "Kaichi kao 揩齒考" (Research on Tooth Cleaning), *Yixueshi yu baojian zuzhi* 醫學史與保健組織 1, no. 4 (1957): 129–132.

104. On Zhang Zhan and his *Yangsheng yaoji*, see, among others, Pregadio, *The Encycopedia of Taoism*, 1151–1152.

105. On the importance of the *Ishinpō*, see Emil C. Hsia, Ilza Veith, Robert H. Geertsma, *The True Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan: Yasuyori Tamba's Ishimpo* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Livia Kohn ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 93–94.

106. Shen Shunong 沈澍農 et al. (ann.), *Yixinfang xiaoshi* 醫心方校釋 (The *Ishinpō* Compared and Annotated) [*Ishinpō* by Tamba no Yasuyori 丹波康賴 (fl. 980)], 3 vols. (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2001), vol. 3, ch. 27, 1681.

107. Ge Hong 葛洪, *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (*The Master Embracing Simplicity*), ch. 15, 70 (in *Zhuzi jicheng*). See also James R. Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung* (Cambridge, Massachusetts/London: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), 257.

108. Sun Simiao 孫思邈 , *Beiji qianji yaofang* 备急千金要方 (*Essential Prescriptions Worth a Thousand Golds for Managing Urgent Situations*) (Shenyang: Liaoning kexue jishu chubanshe, 1999), ch. 27, 411.

109. Sun Simiao, idem, ch. 6, 102.

110. Sun Simiao, idem, ch. 6, 102.

111. To the best of our knowledge, Indian medical sources do not contain any equivalent.

112. Clicking the teeth is called *jian chi* 建齒 , a synonym of *kou chi* 叩齒 ; cf. Ge Hong, *Baopuzi*, ch. 12, 70 (in *Zhuzi jicheng*). See also Shen Shunong, *Yixinfang jiaoyi*, vol. 3, ch. 27, 1680.

113. Yan Zhitui, *Yanshi jiaxun*, ch. 2 (*xia* 下), 10a (in *Siku quanshu*).

114. On Chao Yuanfang and his work, see Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 1300–1301.

115. The *Yangsheng fang* also formed part of manuscripts written on silk that were found in Han tombs at Mawangdui (see Mawangdui Hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組, *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (Silk Manuscripts from the Han Tombs in Mawangdui), vol. 4 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985)). The work probably still existed as a

book in Chao's time. Chao Yuanfang was significant because he drafted a new classification of longevity techniques (cf. Kohn, *Daoism Handbook*, 92).

116. Chao Yuanfang 巢元方, *Zhubing yuanhou lun jiaozhu* 諸病源候論交注 (*Aetiology and Symptoms of Medical Disorders*), ed. Ding Guangdi 丁光迪 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1996), ch. 29, 826. The translation of the above passage is based on Needham, *Medicine*, 90.

117. For a short introduction to the spread of Indian medicine to China, see Vijaya Deshpande, "Ancient Indian Medicine and its Spread to China," *Economic and Political Weekly* 36, no. 13 (2001): 1078 –1081.

118. For an introduction, see Gao Dalun 高大倫, *Zhangjiashan Han jian 'Yinshu' yanjiu* 張家山漢簡引書研究 (Research into the 'Pulling Document' on Han Dynasty Bamboo Strips from Zhangjiashan) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995).

119. Cf. Zhangjiashan Han jian zhengli zu (eds.) 張家山漢簡整理組, "Zhangjia shan Hanjian *Yinshu shiwen* 張家山漢簡引書釋文" (The *Yinshu* and *Shiwen* on Han Dynasty Bamboo Strips from Zhangjiashan), *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1990): 82. See also, Lo, "The Influence of Nurturing Life Culture," 21–22, 26.

120. Cf. Zhou Dacheng 周大成, "Sanguo shidai de jinzhi tiyaqian 三國時代的金制剔牙籤" (Golden Toothpick from the Three Kingdoms Period), *Kouqiang yixue zongheng* 口腔醫學縱橫 6, no.1 (1990): 54, 60. See also Zhou Dacheng 周大成, "Chianshī-shō Nanchan-shi Higashi Go Kōei haka hakken shita 江西省南昌市東呉高榮墓發見した" (The Excavation of the Tomb of Gao Rong from the Eastern Wu State in Nanchang – Jiangxi Province), *Nihon shikai-shi gakkai kaishi* 日本齒科醫史學會會志 8, no. 2 (1981): 23–24. The use of toothpicks in this early medieval context is confirmed in a short statement made by the writer Lu Yun 陸雲 (262–303) during the Jin dynasty and recorded by Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) in the *Taiping yulan* encyclopedia (ch. 714, 5a). Bernard Wolf Weinberger refers to a photograph taken in 1913 by a scholar named Hans Sachs and suggests that it shows curved bronze pendants that were used as toothpicks in ancient China. There is little scientific evidence to support his conclusion, however (Weinberger, *History of Dentistry*, vol. 1 (St. Louis: The C.V. Mosby Company, 1948), 43 (fig. 12)).

121. Shen Shunong, *Yixinfang jiaoyi*, vol. 3, ch. 27, 1680.

122. Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 22, 425.

123. Wang Tao, idem, ch. 22, 430. The practice of rinsing the mouth with tea also gradually increased in popularity. A Ming dynasty work written by Tu Long 屠隆 (1543–1605), for instance, mentions that this makes the teeth firm (cf. Tu Long 屠隆, *Kaoban yushi* 考槃余事 (*Desultory Remarks on Furnishing the Abode of the Retired Scholar*), in Ma Junliang 馬俊良 (fl. 1761), *Longwei mishu* 龍威秘書 (*Secret Book of the Majestic Dragon*) (Dayoushan fang 大酉山房, 1794), vol. 3, 19b). Li Shizhen's 李時珍 classic *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (*The Systematic Pharmacopoeia*), from about the same time period, also briefly mentions rinsing the mouth by with tea in order to eliminate bad breath; cf. Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593), *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (*The Systematic Pharmacopoeia*), ch. 14, 89a (in *Siku quanshu*).

124. Cf. Zhou Zongqi 周宗崎, "Zhi mao yashua shi Zhongguo faming de 植毛牙刷是中國發明的" (Vegetable-bristle Toothbrushes Were Invented in China), *Zhonghua kouqiangke zazhi* 中華口腔科杂雜誌 4, no. 1 (1956): 5; Zhou Zongqi 周宗崎, "Liao dai zhi mao yashua kao 遼代植毛牙刷考" (Study of Vegetable-bristle Toothbrushes of the Liao Dynasty), *Zhonghua kouqiangke zazhi* 中華口腔科杂雜誌 3, no. 2 (1956): 157–160.

125. Chengdu shi bowuguan 成都市博物館 (Chengdu City Bowuguan), Sichuan daxue bowuguan 四川大學博物館 (Sichuan University Museum), "Chengdu Zhihui jie Tang Song yizhi fajue

baokao 成都指挥街唐宋遗址发掘报告” (Excavation at a Tang–Song Site on Zhihui Street, Chengdu City), *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 南方民族考古 2 (1989): 285–286.

126. Li Pengfei 李鵬飛, *Sanyuan yanshou canzan shu* 三元延壽參贊書 (*Record of Advices Regarding Life Prolongation, According to the Three Principles*), ed. Hu Defu 胡德父 (Qing), (Mingdai Wanli keban 明代萬曆刻版, n.d.), ch. 2, 14b.

127. Zhou Mi 周密 *Yunyan guoyan lu* 雲煙過眼錄 (*Records of Clouds and Mist Passing before one's Eyes*), ch. 1, 11b (in *Siku quanshu*); Zhao Ji 趙佶, *Shengji zonglu* 聖濟總錄 (*Imperial Encyclopedia of Medicine*), ch. 19, 20a, 21a, 22a, 23a (in *Siku quanshu*); Chen Zhi 陳直, *Shouqin yanglao xinshu* 壽親養老新書 (*New Book on Fostering Longevity and Nourishing the Old Age of the Parents*), ch. 4, 24b–25b.

128. For an exhaustive survey of references to dental care in premodern China, see Zhou Zongqi, "Kaichi kao," 129–132.

129. Hu Sihui 忽思慧, *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (*Important Principles of Food and Drink*), ch. 1, 17a (*Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition), see Paul D. Buell and Eugene N. Anderson, *A Soup for the Qan* (London/New York: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 266 (with a translation of Hu Sihui's prescription).

IV. Shaving the hair and trimming the nails

When discussing bodily care, Buddhist texts mainly focus on bathing, toilet routines and teeth cleaning, for which they offer a wealth of guidelines and practical advice. However, the writers of these manuals also devote considerable attention to shaving the hair and trimming the nails. These two practices are usually discussed together, partly because both hair and nails are detachable yet continuously growing parts of the body, partly because they generate similar reactions, and partly because a single person often deals with both of them at the same time. Moreover, as is well known, hair is an essential identity marker all over the Buddhist world, since shaving the hair of the head symbolizes a lay person's entry into the monastic community.[1]

While the first three chapters of this book focused on washing and cleaning, that aspect of bodily care will feature less prominently here, although it remains crucially important. As has been mentioned repeatedly, washing and cleaning are closely connected to decency and dignity, and thus to practices and attitudes that are expected among Buddhist monastics. Cleanliness and decency, often viewed as outward signs of purity, form part of the identity of the Buddhist *saṃgha*, just as shaving the hair signals a monk's entry into that community. Cleanliness, decency, purity and identity, here symbolized by hair and nails, are thus closely interlinked.

This chapter examines what hair and nails represent in the monastic context and explores how monks and nuns take care of them. What are monastics' attitudes towards these perpetually growing parts of their bodies? Which tools and techniques do they use to keep them under control? Which emotions do they evoke and which images do they bring to mind? Is there any visible difference between their treatment in India and China? And, finally, how did the many Chinese men who decided to abandon lay life and enter the monastic community perceive their own hair and nails?

1. Hair and nails in Buddhist disciplinary texts

A new member of the monastic community has to go through several stages when entering the Buddhist *saṃgha*. The first of these is known as 'going forth', *chu jia* 出家 (*pravrajyā*), a ceremony symbolizing the transition from lay to monastic life. At this point the newcomer's hair is shaved, a practice that the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* formalizes into a ceremonial act that includes the recital of a motion (*bai* 白, *jñapti*):

> One has to do the following motion: 'Noble ones, let the *saṃgha* listen. This person so and so now asks from the person so and so the shaving of the hair. If the time for the *saṃgha* has come, may the *saṃgha* then allow that one gives the shaving of the hair to the person so and so. That is the motion.'[2]

This motion – which involves the candidate asking his teacher for permission to have his head shaved in the presence of the *saṃgha* – shows the high symbolic value of a shaven head as one of the primary identity markers of a member of the Buddhist monastic community. The *vinaya*s often add that the candidate should also shave his beard and put on the standard monastic item of clothing, the *kāṣāya*, during this ceremony. This is clearly expressed, for instance, in a passage in the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* which says that the *bodhisattva* (i.e. Śākyamuni, the future Buddha) will finally decide to abandon lay life for good after meeting an elderly man, a sick man, a dead person and an ascetic wanderer: 'Once the *bodhisattva* feels disgusted, he will quickly go forth. He will shave beard and hair, and wear the *kāṣāya*. He will cultivate the highest path.'[3]

Since shaving the beard and hair is such a powerful symbol, we might expect monastics to try to follow all of the guidelines on shaving diligently throughout their lives. But what does this imply for them? Should a monk sport no hair at all or is some flexibility allowed? A passage in the *skandhaka* section of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* provides some answers. It gives advice on when and how to shave, and on how to trim the nails properly.[4]

The first part of the Dharmaguptaka text focuses on hair. We are told that several monks with long hair travel to see the Buddha. The Buddha orders (*ting* 聽) them to shave their hair,[5] which they can either do themselves or with someone else's help.[6] The Buddha also tells them to make a razor, which should not be made of any precious material but rather copper or iron. This should then be stored in a sheath made out of bone, ivory, horn, copper, iron, solder, lead, tin, *śalākā* (*sheluo* 舍羅),[7] grass, bamboo, reed or wood. The sheath should fit tightly around the razor, to protect the blade. Padding, such as wool, cotton,[8] or *quan pi* 犬皮, lit. 'dogskin',[9] may be used for this purpose. If there is still a risk of the razor falling out of the sheath, it may be fixed in place with wire. The razor (in its sheath) should be stored in a bag and, if necessary, secured with a rope. The bag may then be worn over the shoulder. The razor's blade should be sharpened on a whetstone, which is carried in the same bag. The monk may do this himself or ask for help. It is important that only a razor is used to shave the head. Scissors (*jian dao* 剪刀)[10] are not allowed, and it is equally forbidden to pull out the hair or to leave some hair intact.[11] Instead, the beard and hair should be fully shaved. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* does not have much to say about moustaches, but it does prohibit curling them, possibly because this would be a sign of vanity. Furthermore, given that a monk must not allow his hair or his beard to grow very long, the ban on moustache curling might contain an implicit instruction to keep them short (or remove them altogether), too. The maximum length of the hair on the head is given as two finger breadths, which equates to cutting the hair at least once every two months.[12] There is no information on the maximum length of the beard.

When shaving his hair, a monk should take care not to soil his clothes, and he should collect the hair in a pot (*cheng faqi* 承髮器, 'a pot to hold the hair'), fashioned out of intertwined bamboo or wood. The lattice may then be covered with bark, or with

one of the materials or fabrics that are allowed for clothing.[13] The pot should never be placed on the ground (to avoid soiling clothes). Instead, it should be hung on a hook by use of a rope.

In addition to the razor, sheath and whetstone, two more objects complete the permitted contents of the razor bag. First, tweezers, which are allowed if one suffers from long hairs in the nostrils. These should always be pulled out, if necessary with someone else's assistance. No reason is given for this instruction, but maybe nostril hairs are viewed as indecent. The tweezers may be made out of bone, ivory, horn, copper, iron, solder, lead or tin. The tips may be strengthened with iron if they are delicate. Finally, a knife for trimming the nails should be added to the razor bag. A monk may perform this task himself or ask for someone else's help. The knife itself should be made out of copper or tin, and it should be stored in a lidded box made out of copper, iron, solder, lead, tin, bamboo or wood.

The ban on long nails seems to have been introduced largely at random, and the reason given for it is quite peculiar, perhaps indicating that this was an attempt to explain a practice that was already widespread but whose origins were unclear. The story – which gives the compiler of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* a cherished opportunity to expose the wickedness of women – goes as follows: one day, a monk with long nails visits the house of a lay donor. He is a handsome man and the lady of the house is attracted to him. She invites him to do all manner of things (presumably sexual acts). The monk refuses, however, and cites the monastic laws. At this point, the lady tells the monk that if he continues to refuse to give her what she wants, she will scratch herself and accuse him of injuring her. This worries the monk and he tries to run away, but on his way out he meets the lady's husband. Seeing this, the lady immediately scratches herself and accuses the monk. Her husband believes her and confronts the monk with his alleged criminal act. The monk denies it, but the husband points to his long nails, cites this as proof, and beats the monk to death.[14] This is why the Buddha forbids monks to have long nails. Nevertheless, nails should not be cut so close to the fingers that a monk risks injuring himself, so the Buddha stipulates that they should be allowed to grow to a maximum length of one barley-corn.[15] Although it is unclear precisely how long that is, we are told that it is less than the length of a nail that has been growing for two weeks. Sharp, polished and coloured nails are also forbidden, presumably because these are all seen as signs of vanity. In the same context, neither the beard nor the hair may be combed, and the hair may not be oiled.[16] Similarly, the body may not be perfumed; instead, as was discussed in Chapter II, dirt and sweat should simply be removed with a scraping knife.[17] However, this knife should never be used to shave off body hair.[18] This issue of shaving parts of the body other than the head and the beard is mentioned only briefly in the Dharmaguptaka *skandhaka* passage on hair and nails. It appears again, however, and in more detail, in the list of rules (*prātimokṣa*) for nuns. *Pācittika* rule 71 of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* states: 'If a *bhikṣuṇī* shaves the hair in the three places, she commits a *pācittika*.'[19] These three places are defined as the pubic area and the two armpits. Under normal circumstances, a nun should not shave her hair, pull it out, cut it or

burn it. However, she is permitted to do so if she has an ulcer and needs to apply medicine. The reason why a nun should not shave her pubic area or her armpits is clearly indicated: lay women shave these places in order to generate sexual desire. Interestingly, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* adds that, if a monk does the same, he commits a *sthūlāca*, 'a grave offence'.[20] This is quite a strong statement, since a *sthūlāca* is committed by someone who nearly violates – or fails when attempting to violate – a *pārājika* or a *saṃghāvaśeṣa* rule – the two most serious categories listed in the *prātimokṣa*.[21]

1.1. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* lists a variety of tools that are used when shaving the hair and trimming the nails. Clearly, people are not indifferent towards these ('detachable') body parts. On the contrary, they seem to evoke quite strong emotions. While shaving the hair and the beard is closely linked to a lay person's going forth, hair (or, more specifically, its absence) on other parts of the body stirs up images of beauty and sexual attraction, both of which must obviously be avoided by members of the monastic community.

Nails receive less attention, although a few remarks are addressed towards them. In the *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, for instance, long nails are associated with an impure way of life.[22] In the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, long and filthy nails are seen as totally inappropriate. They should be shortened and wiped clean, although not polished in the process.[23]

Shaving and trimming are thus essential aspects of monastic bodily care. However, some caution is required, as the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* emphasizes when stressing that both activities are potential sources of embarrassment. In this context, this *vinaya* warns: 'Make sure that lay people do not hold you in derision!'[24] This may be avoided – and the dignity of the *saṃgha* preserved – by shaving and trimming only in screened-off places.[25] The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* also criticizes the unreliability of barbers, suggesting that lay people should not be employed in the cutting of hair and the shaving of beards. This negative view of barbers is not too strange when we consider that, in brahmanical circles in India, hair parings were perceived as impure, while the job of cutting hair was reserved for outcast people.[26] In this context, Patrick Olivelle has shown that hair is sometimes put on a par with bodily waste.[27] Buddhist followers may well have concurred with this notion. Although the *vinaya*s do not make such explicit comparisons – concentrating instead on keeping hair and nails in check because of their potential to enhance attractiveness – hair parings and nail cuttings are still clearly seen as pollutants that might easily soil a monastic's clothes. The Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition deepens this aspect of uncleanliness/impurity by assigning a humble and discrete function to barbers' activities.[28]

Hair and nails are not only associated with waste and impurity, however. For instance, in some Vedic contexts, they are linked with fertility and vitality because

their incessant growth mirrors that of plants.[29] In this sense, hair and nails are full of energy, and cutting them diminishes this energy. As we have seen, however, Buddhist authors consider long hair and nails to be totally inappropriate for Buddhist monks, so they would never sanction letting them grow.[30] Decency is the main criterion here, which also explains why shaving armpit and pubic hair is forbidden. Such shaving does not fit in with the image of a decent and dignified community, but rather stirs images of sexual attraction. In contrast, shaving the hair of the head (and beard) symbolizes asexuality and dignity.[31]

Through the spread of *vinaya* texts, the techniques and tools of shaving and trimming, and the images of identity and decency linked to hair and nails, reached China. The next part of this chapter explores how these practices and concepts were received and implemented in this new context.

2. Shaving and trimming in early Chinese disciplinary texts

As is well known, shaving the hair of the head is an important identity marker of Buddhist monastics in China, as elsewhere. Logically, this should make it a crucial element in Chinese Buddhist bodily care, an activity that is on a par with other issues of identity, decency and decorum. However, as we will see, the disciplinary texts do not provide as much information as we might expect, certainly when compared with the relatively detailed data on such activities as bathing and teeth cleaning.

2.1. Shaving the hair as an identity marker

In China, as in the rest of the Buddhist world, Buddhist monastics are identified by their shaven heads. This is clearly illustrated on numerous mural paintings of Chinese monks and nuns, and underlined by prominent *vinaya* masters, such as Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and Yijing 義淨 (635–713), both of whom complain that some members of the *saṃgha* do not respect this most basic Buddhist symbol. In his *Sifen lü biqiuni chao* 四分律比丘尼鈔, *Commentary on the (Rules for) Nuns of the Dharmaguptakavinaya*, for instance, Daoxuan explains that female teachers and disciples alike should distance themselves from all lay habits and occupations, such as make-up and spinning.[32] They must physically identify themselves as members of the monastic community by shaving their hair and wearing the monastic robe (*kāṣāya*). However, Daoxuan bemoans the fact that many do not live up to these standards. He particularly opposes the idea that a nun with long hair may live in a monastery.[33] Similar ideas are expressed by Yijing in his well-known travel account, the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas* (T.2125). He declares that monks should leave behind the appearance of laymen by shaving their hair and wearing the monastic robe. In addition, he links these outward features directly with moral behaviour, and portrays them as symbols of the monks'

purity of mind.[34] These identifying symbols are again highlighted in the *Lüe jiao jie jing* 略教誡經, *Sūtra on Abridged Teaching*, a relatively short text whose translation has been attributed to Yijing (T.799). The text lists all of the external and internal identifying features of a monk, including his shaved head and monastic robe. He should go forth from home and beg for food. Unhindered by any dangers or difficulties, he should avoid bad mental states and strive for *nirvāṇa*.[35] These guidelines neatly correspond to the major distinctive elements of monastic life that are discussed, for instance, by John Kieschnick in his book on Chinese eminent monks.[36]

To provide a complete picture of the identifying Buddhist body symbols in China, attention should be paid to one more feature, even though it does not appear in any surviving monastic text until the late thirteenth century. This identity marker is linked to the so-called *bodhisattva* ordination, when the *bodhisattva* vows are taken, after the monk has received the full ordination based on the Indian *vinaya*s. The *bodhisattva* ordination centres on a fifth-century apocryphal text, the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* (T.1484), which probably started to play an important role one or two centuries after its compilation.[37] At this ceremony, as described in detail in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by several researchers, including Jan J.M. De Groot, Holmes Welch and Johannes Prip-Møller, moxa (*Artemisia* tinder) is burned on the crown of the monk's head three, nine, twelve or eighteen times, with nine the most common.[38] Furthermore, James A. Benn has shown that, in Late Imperial China, this habit was inspired and justified on the basis of an interpretation of both the *Fanwang jing* and the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經, *Śūraṃgamasūtra* (T.945), with the latter another apocryphal text that was supposedly translated around the beginning of the eighth century. He also demonstrates that this practice, as a token of the acceptance of the *bodhisattva* vows, probably began as late as the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), and only became an empire-wide phenomenon in the early Qing (1644–1911).[39] Moxa burning is still widely practised today, at least in Taiwan, albeit often as an optional procedure.[40] However, the most prominent symbol of following a Buddhist monastic life remains, as ever, a shaved head.

Indeed, shaving the hair is an essential identity marker for Buddhist monastics in India as well as China. As mentioned above, this task is first performed by a disciple's personal teacher during the former's going forth ceremony, and it is a highly symbolic gesture. In this context, Daoxuan says that a few locks of hair are left on the candidate's head just before he presents himself to his teacher, and the latter then shaves off these last few strands. In this way, the teacher becomes a kind of parent, while the candidate assumes the role of a son (or a daughter, in the case of nuns).[41] The shaven head also clearly distinguishes Chinese Buddhist monks and nuns from Daoist monastics, who tie their hair in a topknot.[42]

Given that shaving the hair is so crucial to the Buddhist community, one would expect the Chinese *vinaya* commentaries and newly compiled handbooks to offer quite detailed guidelines on this aspect of bodily care, with precise explanations of

how to shave the hair and how often. However, as we will see, such information is relatively scarce.

2.2. Chinese vinaya *masters: taking care of hair and nails*

As we have seen, once the Indian *vinaya* texts had been translated, Chinese authors wrote numerous commentaries and manuals with the intention of clarifying the guidelines that were contained in the earlier texts. One of the most important of these is the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀, *Great* (*Sūtra*) *of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*, probably compiled in the fifth century.[43] However, this text does not provide much detailed information on how to deal with hair and nails. Instead, it reveals a few general principles. So we learn that shaving the head is connected to the practice of bathing, as the two activities are announced in the monastery at the same time.[44] In addition, as has been discussed in previous chapters, the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* makes a direct link between cleanliness and dignity, with a focus on three crucial aspects: a clean body, a clean mouth and clean clothes. Cleaning the body is further explained as washing 'the places of urine and excrement' and 'trimming the nails'.[45]

The other Chinese texts are similarly reticent on the subject of hair and nails. Even the monk Daoxuan, in his commentary the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, *A Transcription of Abridged Revisions in the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* (T.1804), merely refers to the barber's basic tools as listed in the *vinaya* texts – a razor, a sheath, a whetstone, a bag, a pot to collect hair, tweezers and a knife for trimming the nails[46] – before going on to reiterate the main stipulations of these *vinaya*s. His focus is on the instructions given in the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, and he underlines that it is inappropriate for monastics to have long hair or long nails. Consequently, a monk should trim his nails as necessary, and shave his head every two weeks.[47] In addition, in his *Jiaojie xin xue biqiu xing hu lü yi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀, *To Explain to Young Monks How to Protect the Vinaya Rules* (T.1897), Daoxuan states a monk should not stand up for a master, or even greet him, when the latter is in the process of shaving.[48] This implies that shaving was perceived as a private and presumably quite humble activity.

While these disciplinary texts provide little information on precisely how monks and nuns went about shaving their heads, an alternative source is much more instructive. In Yulin cave 25, near Dunhuang, which dates to 776–781,[49] some relatively detailed murals clearly show three types of razor being used to shave candidates (from an elite family) for the going forth. Two of these – one with a fairly straight blade (Figs. 10 and 11) and one with a bent blade (Fig. 13) – are used to shave the head, while the third – shaped like a sickle (Figs. 10 and 12) – is used for the beard. A lay person stands in front of the candidates with a basket, presumably to collect the cut hair (Figs. 10 and 13).



Figure 10. Shaving the hair and the beard, Dunhuang mural, Yulin cave 25
(Courtesy of Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 , Dunhuang Academy)



Figure 11. Shaving the hair (detail), Dunhuang mural, Yulin cave 25
(Courtesy of Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 , Dunhuang Academy)



Figure 12. Shaving the beard (detail), Dunhuang mural, Yulin cave 25
(Courtesy of Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 , Dunhuang Academy)



Figure 13. Shaving the hair, Dunhuang mural, Yulin cave 25
(Courtesy of Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 , Dunhuang Academy)

Unfortunately, there is little increase in the amount of textual data relating to hair and nails over the next few centuries. Only every so often does a snippet of information turn up. For instance, the oldest surviving *qing gui* code, the *Chanyuan qing gui* 禪苑清規, *The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, compiled in 1103, states that on a bathing day, before the meal, the bath master posts an announcement for 'the opening of the bath', the 'rinsing of sweat' or 'the cleaning of the hair'.[50] This seems to indicate that hair was washed, and presumably shaved, while bathing, but it does not say how – or how often – this was done. A further remark implies that monastics sometimes asked lay barbers to come to the monastery. This note appears in the context of the duties of the director of the infirmary, who is urged to ensure that food servers, barbers and sempsters do not smuggle wine or meat into the infirmary.[51] It seems likely that these barbers cut the hair and beards (and maybe trimmed the nails) of the infirmary's patients, but it is impossible to know if they performed the same service for other members of the monastery. Healthy people might well have been expected to shave themselves. After all, monastics were allowed to own a knife, which, according to Yifa, could be used for such purposes as trimming the nails.[52]

The indication that hair should be washed (and presumably shaved) when bathing implies that this should not be done at other times, and this seems to be confirmed by the *Ruzhong riyong* 入眾日用, *Daily Life in the Assembly*, a monastic text compiled in 1209 by the Chan monk Wuliang Zongshou 無量宗壽, which states that a monk should not wash his head during morning washing activities because this dirties the basin and the (communal) hand cloth, dries out the hair and injures the eyes.[53] Again, no advice is given on trimming, cutting or shaving. In the *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* 禪林備用清規, *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, compiled in 1311 by the monk Zeshan Yixian 澤山弌咸 (W 112, p.68a14), and in the very influential *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*, compiled by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between 1335 and 1343 (T.2025, p.1142c22–23), we further learn that there is no meditation practice on days when hair is washed (and presumably shaved). The latter text also indicates that a special towel is used during hair washing (T.2025, p.1132c27).

Although they provide scant information on the methods involved, these texts do at least confirm that shaving the head was a regular activity, while the Dunhuang murals (see Figs. 10 and 12) suggest that shaving the beard was a common practice, too. Unfortunately, the literature has almost nothing to say about nail trimming. The Dunhuang murals show monastics with relatively short nails, but the thirteenth-century Japanese monk Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), who travelled in China from 1223 to 1227, paints a very different picture. When referring to the stipulations of the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, he criticizes Chinese monks for not trimming their nails, then goes into a lengthy exposition on why they should do so.[54] According to Dōgen, some monks allow their nails to grow to one, two, three or even four *cun* 寸 in length.[55] Some let their hair grow long, too. For Dōgen, this is quite detrimental, because shaving and trimming purify the body, and therefore the mind. So monastics who neglect these tasks fail to meet the necessary standards.

Although it is impossible to verify Dōgen's account, one contemporary source seems to support his accusation that some (presumably elite) Chinese monks did allow their nails to grow: a thirteenth-century portrait of the famous monk Fazang 法藏 (643–712) (Fig. 14) depicts him with rather long nails.[56] Moreover, a set of drawings compiled in the Qianlong period (1736–1796) provides further evidence of this custom.[57] The drawings shown here (Figs. 15 and 16) portray the *vinaya* masters Daoxuan and Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814) with relatively short hair and beards but extremely long nails, presumably as a sign of nobility.[58]



Figure 14. The monk Fazang (643–712)
Chen Jinhua, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang (643–712)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), front cover, after Tōdai-ji original



Figure 15. The monk Daoxuan (596–667)
Yuan Ziyao 袁子耀 , *Qing ke fojiao yishu tuxiang* 清刻佛教藝術圖像 (Artistic Drawings of Qing Carvings), (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2006), 249



Figure 16. The monk Baizhang Huaihai (749–814)
Yuan Ziyao 袁子耀 , *Qing ke fojiao yishu tuxiang* 清刻佛教藝術圖像 (Artistic Drawings of Qing Carvings), (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2006), 87

3. Concluding remarks: identity, beauty and cleanliness

In conclusion, we can say with certainty that shaving the head as a primary identity marker of Buddhist monks and nuns was one bodily care practice that travelled from India to China. It is now so familiar in the Chinese context that it is difficult to imagine that it was once a radically new practice there, but that was certainly the case when the first Chinese Buddhists started to go forth. Moreover, in addition to being the principal symbol of Buddhist identity, the hair symbolizes respect for the community in both India and China. The same is true for nails. Neither hair nor nails (or indeed the body as a whole) should ever be embellished, but they must be kept clean and tidy as symbols of decency and, sometimes, even purity. So they must be washed, shaved and trimmed regularly.

In contrast to other aspects of bodily care, Chinese disciplinary texts pay little attention to care of the hair and nails. Nevertheless, as with bathing, toilet and teeth-cleaning guidelines, the themes of identity and decency remain paramount, with long hair and nails condemned as inappropriate for Buddhist monastics. However, while it appears that monks and nuns of the first millennium generally abided by the precepts relating to keeping their hair short (as numerous paintings from the period testify), Dōgen suggests that they were far less diligent when it came to trimming their nails. Long nails seem to have been a sign of nobility in the lay world, and perhaps elite monks liked to signify their status by letting theirs grow, too.

3.1. Hair care in lay society

Although lay society expected monks and nuns to behave in a decent and dignified manner at all times, which included keeping their nails and hair short, abandoning one's hair was simultaneously perceived as highly offensive to the moral standards of Confucian China. Confucianism viewed the act of shaving as mutilation of the body that was a gift from one's parents, and as such it constituted an outrageous lack of respect. In this sense, Buddhism 'challenged' traditional Chinese culture, as Anthony C. Yu explains in his work on state and religion in China.[59] Buddhist monastic life not only pulled sons and daughters away from their parents but forced them to declare this separation physically. A crucial passage in the first chapter of the *Xiao jing* 孝經, *Book of Filial Piety*, a Confucian classic text that was probably compiled around 400 BCE, is commonly mentioned in this context: 'Our body, hair and skin have been received from our parents. We do not dare to damage them – that is the beginning of filial piety.'[60] This concept was well known in Buddhist circles, and soon it was being extensively refuted in apologetic texts such as the *Mouzi Lihuolun* 牟子理惑論, *Master Mou's Discourse on Removing Doubts*, a polemic treatise that forms part of the *Hongming ji* 弘明集, *Collection [of Texts] for the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]*, compiled by the monk Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518).[61] The *Mouzi Lihuolun*, the origin of which is still unclear, became extremely popular in the latter half of the fifth century.[62] The text argues that although Buddhist monastics

shave their heads, they do not reject their parents in any way, but rather repay the debt of gratitude they owe them through their spiritual practice. Indeed, they help to guide their parents to salvation by embodying the Buddhist teachings. Shaving off their hair is a symbol of this enormous effort.[63]

Aside from the Confucian view that is expressed in the *Xiao jing*, shaving and washing the hair are seldom discussed explicitly in ancient Chinese texts, perhaps because the authors view such tasks merely as aspects of the general process of bathing. Nevertheless, Liu Zenggui has managed to find a few minor references which seem to indicate that the elite in ancient China understood the benefits of frequent hair washing.[64] The *Liji*, which describes the social organization of Zhou dynasty China (ca. 1050–256 BCE), is an especially valuable source as it contains a description – albeit in a heavily ritualized context and therefore probably not very representative of society as a whole – of the ruler's toilet routine, including the washing of his head and hair.[65] The ruler is said to use millet-water (*hui liang* 靧粱) for this purpose, after which he runs a comb made out of white-grained wood (*shan* 樿) through his wet hair. Once his hair is dry, he uses an ivory comb (*xiang jie* 象櫛).

The *Hanfeizi*, written by the Chinese philosopher Han Feizi (ca. 280–233 BCE), provides a little more information through its inclusion of an ancient saying which stresses that even people with shaved heads should continue to bathe, before adding that those who give up their hair and have forgotten the benefits of long hair lack authority.[66] Han Feizi therefore presents long hair as a symbol of strength and authority. A little later, the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, an anthology of texts from the late second century BCE, claims that frequent washing prompts the hair grow, while failure to do so can lead to disease.[67]

These brief references provide a glimpse of premodern attitudes to hair care, and seem to suggest that there was a preference for long hair in ancient China.[68] In spite of this, it seems that the hair was occasionally cut, presumably to keep it neat and tidy. Archaeology has enhanced our limited understanding of this activity by unearthing artefacts such as the Han dynasty scissors that are currently on display in Henan Provincial Museum (Henan Bowuyuan 河南博物院) in Zhengzhou 鄭洲 . Such finds suggest that the Chinese were familiar with a tool for cutting their hair when Buddhism first appeared in their midst.[69] However, as we saw above, any layman who chose to join a monastery could no longer use scissors for this purpose.

Han officials were entitled to leave their posts every fifth day in order to bathe, and this institutionalized practice naturally included washing their hair.[70] By this period, it seems that the fashion for long hair had become a social convention for both men and women, with the hair usually tied up.[71] As the aforementioned passage in the *Huainanzi* indicates, regular washing was viewed as vital to keep the hair strong and healthy, and it had the added benefit of eliminating smells. In this context, clean, long hair was regarded as a sign of youth and strength. This leads us, once again, to a fundamental concept in Chinese socio-cultural history. As Xiao Fan points out in a thorough study of the connection between longevity (*changsheng bu lao* 長生不老)

and hair, premodern Chinese men were determined to keep their hair in perfect shape and avoid white hairs at all costs.[72] As mentioned above with respect to dental care, the search for eternal youth and longevity was firmly rooted in the Daoist *yangsheng* tradition. This gave rise to myriad techniques that were adopted with the aim of maintaining a youthful appearance and negating the ageing process. Of course, hair care – and especially the retention of black hair – was an important element in this, and below we will describe some of the lotions, decoctions and diets that the ancient and medieval Chinese employed in their perpetual search for an effective elixir of youth. Here, it is interesting to note that hair treatments and products reached new levels of sophistication with the development of herbal medicine in ancient and medieval China, and the Sui dynasty author Chao Yuanfang was among the first to write a detailed chapter on hair care, hair diseases and appropriate treatments. Entitled *Mao fa bing zhu hou* 毛髮病諸侯, *All Diseases Related to Hair*, it forms part of his *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論, *Aetiology and Symptoms of Medical Disorders*.[73]

As the preceding chapters have indicated, Chinese society's obsession with aesthetic trends relating to body culture reached a peak during the Tang dynasty. An impressive assortment of cosmetic products became available to the well-to-do in this period, undoubtedly as a result of ever more importation of foreign products.[74] Medical writers followed this trend and increasingly turned their attention to physical appearance. This is perfectly illustrated by Wang Tao's *Waitai miyao fang*, an extremely comprehensive work that incorporates numerous extracts from other sources and devotes a whole section to beauty recipes.[75] This text is a particularly rich source of information on hair products and treatments for hair diseases.

Of course, a typical aspirant monk probably would not have used many – or indeed any – of these products, even during his early life in lay society. And he certainly would have been obliged to abandon any concerns about his hair as soon as he entered the monastery, given Buddhism's abhorrence of worldly vanity. However, his female (and perhaps his elderly) relatives might well have sought the assistance of a physician, or at least someone who claimed knowledge of such matters, when seeking to improve their appearance. Members of the elite, especially, may well have employed professionals in a bid to reduce the impact of ageing on their hair. Literature dating to the Tang and Song periods indicates that a number of hair-dyeing products were available around this time. The *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方, *Supplement to the Formulas of a Thousand Gold Worth*, written by Sun Simiao 孙思邈 (ca. 581–682), for instance, lists *ling bai fa huan hei fang* 令白髮換黑方 ('a method to turn white hair black') in its first section on women (*fu ren yi* 婦人一).[76] Meanwhile, the *Waitai miyao fang* provides several recipes for the treatment of white hair.[77] From the Song dynasty, there is the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, *Imperial Overview of the Taiping Era*, an impressive encyclopedia compiled by Li Fang 李昉 (925–996), which contains a recipe for hair dye.[78] Likewise, Gao Cheng 高承 (fl. 1197)'s encyclopedia *Shiwu jiyuan* 事物紀原, *Records of the Origins of Affairs and Things*, includes a for-

mula containing *he shou wu* 何首烏 (Chinese knotweed or *Fallopia multiflora*) for blackening the hair.[79]

In the aforementioned *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, the Sui dynasty author Chao Yuanfang provides instructions on how to prevent hair from turning yellow (*huang* 黄) – that is, hoary or white.[80] He cites a number of contemporary medical texts, such as the *Yangsheng fang*, in support of these treatments.[81] Here, once again, washing has an important role to play: hair may be prevented from turning white by combing it a thousand times or washing it on ten consecutive days. Washing it for fourteen days in a row will enhance its black colour, as will application of a concoction of five herbs (*qu wu xiang tang zuo tang* 取五香烫作汤). A series of therapeutic techniques – breathing exercises combined with a series of specific body movements – should be performed to combat certain hair diseases. These include stretching and deep bending of the neck and spine while covering the ears with the hands, and they should be carried out while simultaneously combing the loosened hair (*lu tou* 捋頭).[82] The aim of these exercises is to cure the so-called head-wind disease (*tou feng* 頭風)[83] – that is, headache – or to stimulate the roots of the hair (*li fa gen* 利髮根), which was thought to prevent hair from turning white while preserving or enhancing its smoothness and shiny black splendour. The same section of the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* also mentions moustaches and eyebrows, although it does not list any techniques or medicines that may have a beneficial effect on their growth.[84] Finally, while the Buddhist *vinaya* texts expressly forbid pulling out hair, the Chinese lay world seemed to have no qualms about advocating such drastic action. Wang Tao, mainly referring to Sun Simiao, mentions several other contemporary sources that favour pulling out white hairs. Apparently, doing so will stimulate the growth of black hair.[85]

Prior to entering a monastery, when still a member of lay society, the typical Chinese aspirant monk was usually too young to worry about hair loss (and even if he did suffer from premature baldness, he was unlikely to believe that there was anything he could do about it). Later, both he and others would view his lack of hair as a symbol of his devotion to Buddhism, not as a source of shame. However, it was a very different story when a member of the elite started to lose his hair. In such circumstances, balding was viewed as a medical condition that could be treated, and the *yangsheng* tradition offered a variety of remedies. For instance, in the *Zhubing yuan houlun*, Chao Yuanfang suggests combing the hair while facing east (*xiang wang di jie fa* 向王地櫛髮) and gnashing the teeth (*kou chi*).[86] Wang Tao, by contrast, recommends a kind of lotion or shampoo (*sheng fa gao* 生髮膏),[87] while Sun Simiao, in the *Beiji qianjin yaofang*, helpfully provides a recipe that is said to protect against hair loss.[88] It is impossible to know the extent to which these products and techniques were utilized in Tang China, but the sheer number of remedies and treatments would seem to indicate that members of high society, at least, were willing to try almost anything to keep the hair on their heads.

Medieval Chinese medical texts pay considerably less attention to hair growth on other parts of the body. However, there are one or two references to this topic. Con-

trary to the Buddhist disciplinary rules, it seems that members of lay society had no qualms about shaving their body hair. In fact, the removal of body hair was sometimes positively encouraged in line with aesthetic norms relating to sexuality. For instance, in the *Beiji qianjin yaofang*, Sun Simiao discusses hair in connection with the sexual attractiveness of a young woman's body. In much the same way as the authors of the Buddhist *vinaya*s, Sun makes a connection between the sexual appeal of a young woman and the hairlessness of her armpits and pubic region. According to Sun, if hair grows on these parts of the body, ideally it should be fine and soft, so that it is invisible.[89] Shaving was probably the preferred option to achieve this hairless (or almost hairless) state, although Wang Tao suggests several treatments that he says will permanently stop hair growth in these regions.[90]

3.2. Attitudes to nails

Just like hair, nails need to be trimmed on a regular basis. However, from early on, fingernails – signified by such terms as *shou zhao* 手爪, *zhi jia* 指甲 and *zhao jia* 爪甲 – may have been worn long, although references to them in ancient and medieval literature are rather peripheral.[91] The *Hanfeizi*, for instance, includes an anecdote in which the marquis Zhao 昭, of the state of Han 韓, tests the loyalty of his attendants. Zhao conceals his finger in his fist and claims he has lost a fingernail. Hearing this, one of his ministers cuts one of his own fingernails and thereby proves his loyalty to his master.[92] It seems unlikely that the minister felt obliged to pull out a whole fingernail or, conversely, that he merely snipped off a tiny fraction of an already short nail. So we may surmise that he displayed his loyalty by cutting a fairly long, elegant nail. However, even if this is the correct interpretation of this story, we certainly cannot assume that everybody in premodern Chinese society sported long fingernails. As we have seen throughout the course of this book, information that is gleaned from literature dating from this period is usually relevant only to *elite* society. So, while it is reasonable to suggest that members of the Chinese upper classes liked to wear their nails long, the same cannot be said for commoners. Consequently, this fashion no doubt served as a symbol of the elite's high status. Long fingernails reflected the lives they led – lives that were unburdened by the physical labour that made growing long fingernails impossible for peasants and workers alike.

Much later, in the Tang dynasty, there are references to a custom that any young monk might well have encountered in his early life, yet which ran totally counter to the Buddhist aversion to personal embellishment: elite women seemed fond of polishing their fingernails.[93] For instance, this practice is described in the poem *Ting zheng* 聽箏, *Listening to the Zither*, written by the Tang poet Zhang Hu 張祜 (dates unknown).[94] Moreover, it was not only women who lavished attention on their nails. According to his biography in the *Tangshu* 唐書, another poet of the Tang era, Li He 李賀 (791–817), was famous for growing his nails long (*chang zhao* 長爪).[95] However, the fact that his long fingernails were deemed worthy of mention in Li He's biography suggests that he was an exceptional case, rather than a follower of

fashion. Perhaps there was no established trend, and fingernail length was a matter of personal preference. Whatever was the case, and no matter how long fingernails were kept, they still needed to be cut fairly regularly. A reference in a calendar dating from 956, during the Later Zhou dynasty (Hou Zhou后周, 951–960), confirms this. The *Xiande sannian bingshen sui juzhu liri* 顯得三年丙申歲具注歷日, *Annotated Calendar for Bingshen, the Third Year of Xiande*, lists all the activities that should be carried out on every day of the year. Among these are *chu shou zu jia* 除手足甲 ('the cutting of fingernails and toenails').[96] Cutting the nails also appears, albeit briefly, in the *yangsheng* tradition: the *Beiji qianjin yaofang* specifically mentions the most suitable days on which to cut both fingernails and toenails.[97]

From these references to fingernails in the classical and medieval periods, it seems that any young monk (at least if he was from an elite background) would have been forced to adapt to yet another unfamiliar routine on entering the monastery. If he had followed the fashion of growing his nails long in his lay life, he was now obliged to abandon that habit and cut his nails regularly, maybe every two weeks. (Although many years down the line, if he eventually became an elite member of the monastery, he may have been permitted to let them grow again, if Dōgen is to be believed.) And no matter how proud he had been of his shiny, long, black hair, no matter how much care and attention he had lavished on it, that was a fashion to which he could never return. His shaven head and short nails symbolized a total and drastic shift away from the profane world.

Notes

1. Hair and nails are also often combined in the context of *stūpa*s in which hair and nail parings of the Buddha have supposedly been enshrined. As discussed by John S. Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 72–85, it seems that these *stūpa*s were intended to make veneration of the Buddha possible when it was otherwise difficult. In many cases, the Buddha personally offers his own hair and nails, as mentioned in many texts, including several *vinaya*s: *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, T.1425, p.461c1; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.782a15–16, p.785c22-23; *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.351c13–15, p.415b29–c4; and *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1448, p.14c26-27; T.1451, p.240b20–c14. Chinese travellers to India also refer extensively to such *stūpa*s (see, for instance, Faxian, T.2085, p.859a8–9, p.860a2; Xuanzang, T.2087, p.873a7–8, p.879a21–22 and passim; Yijing, T.2125, p.230c22–23). For Sanskrit references, see Gregory Schopen, "An Old Inscription from Amarāvatī and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14, no. 2 (1991; reprinted in Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*): 196–197, note 34. Schopen also remarks that there is as yet no archaeological or epigraphical evidence to confirm the existence of any of these *stūpa*s.

2. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.810b5–7 (monks), p.923c18–20 (nuns).

3. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.783a1–2.

4. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, pp.945a21–946b12. Similar information can be found in other *vinaya*s, especially the Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, pp.133–135), the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.169b23–c9, p.173a29–b13), the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1435, p.280a24–b12, p.280c17–28, p.414a4–6, p.417a25–28) and the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.209b7–c17, pp.218b6–219a10, p.230c1–11, p.273a29–b11, p.275a3–19, p.276a23–26). The Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, pp.134–135) and the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.169c8–9) also mention an instrument to remove dirt from the ears. The *Sarvāstivādavinaya* contains some additional information on what to do with all the hair: it should be collected and put in a pit (T.1435, p.280a28). The *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* focuses on the proscription against making oneself attractive. In this context, any special nail design is explicitly forbidden (T.1451, p.209b7–c17). Equally, the hair should not be combed, and a lock of hair may not be left on the crown of the head when the rest of the head is shaved (T.1451, pp.218b6–219a10; this practice is also mentioned in the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.65a23, p.68a28, and p.69a13). Such a lock, called a *ding ji* 頂髻 (*Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*) or a *zhoulo fa* 周羅髮 (*zhoulo* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit term *cūḍa*; see Ciyi, *Foguang Dacidian*, vol. 4, 3122–3123, s.v. 周羅髮), is considered improper for monastics. Other hairstyles are also banned (T.1451, p.230c1–11). Long hair is obviously banned, although it is acknowleged that it is not always easy to shave one's head. Therefore, monks living in isolated places are allowed a maximum length of two finger breadths (see note 12, below), while monks living in a town must keep their hair shorter (T.1451, p.219a8–10). Finally, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.273a29–b7) also mentions that one should use a special robe while shaving the beard and hair, so as not to soil the standard monastic clothes.

5. The Chinese text (T.1428, p.945a28) reads as follows: *ting ti* 聽剃, 'I allow (you) to shave', here interpreted as 'I order (you) to shave'. Since a monk should never have long hair, the term 'allow' does not seem to fit with the reality, even though the standard translation of the Chinese term *ting* is 'to allow'. The interpretation 'I order that' makes much more sense. A parallel translation problem has been discussed by Heinz Bechert ("Some Remarks on the Kaṭhina Rite," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 54 (1968): 320–321) for the Sanskrit term *anujānāmi*. Bechert argues that this term has often been mistranslated as 'I allow', rather than 'I order'. The Chinese *Dharmaguptakavinaya* probably suffers from exactly the same translation/interpretation problem.

6. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1428, p.927a24–b3) further specifies that nuns should never ask a male person to assist them in shaving their hair, trimming their nails, or pulling hairs from their nostrils.

7. See Chapter I, note 7.

8. *Jiebei* 劫貝 : a phonetic rendering of *karpāsa*, cotton (Ciyi, *Foguang Dacidian*, vol. 3, 2815, s.v. *jiebei shu* 劫貝樹).

9. The use of the term *quan pi* 犬皮 seems out of place here. Why would dogskin be used as padding? And, even more strikingly, why would any skin be used in a Buddhist context? Moreover, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* itself explicitly forbids the use of dogskin (T.1428, p.1006a15–16, using an alternative name for 'dog', namely *gou* 狗). Maybe we should interpret *pi*, 'skin', as bark, and *quan*, 'dog', as the name of a plant, on the basis that 'dog' might be a translation of the Sanskrit term *kuk(k)ura*, which means a certain plant as well as 'dog' (Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, 287, s.v. *kukura*). Also, the Chinese term 'dogskin' might refer to a plant substance, namely cortex daphnes (*huang gou pi* 黃狗皮), 'daphne tree bark'. Interestingly, in the twentieth century, this kind of bark was used in the central Tibetan region in the manufacture of paper, as is illustrated in a photograph taken by Frederick Spencer Chapman, now part of the Hugh E. Richardson collection (BMR.86.1.60.3).
See http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo_BMR.86.1.60.3.html (last accessed 8 April, 2012).

10. Pāli *kattarikā* (Vin II, p.134).

11. Pulling out the hair is a common practice of Jain monastics (Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism* (Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1956), 11 and 335; Patrick Olivelle, "Hair and Society: Social Significance of Hair on South Asian Traditions," in *Hair, Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures*, eds. Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara D. Miller (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 21). Although, in this context, the *vinaya*s do not explicitly refer to Jain ascetics, they still make clear that plucking out hair is not allowed within the Buddhist *saṃgha*.

12. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.946a3–4, parallel to Pāli *vinaya*, Vin II, pp.106–107. Since so-called *sugata* standards are generally used in *vinaya* texts, it is logical to assume that this is the case in this passage. However, at least when referring to the calculations of the Chinese master Daoxuan, this means the maximum length of the hair is approximately 9.24 cm (for details on these calculations, see Chapter II, note 38). This is quite long, certainly in light of the ensuing stipulation of the Buddha which states that the hair should be cut once every two months. We can therefore presume that another standard has been used here. According to Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, 962–963 (s.v. *vitasti*), in the lay world, one *vitasti* (handspan) is equivalent to twelve *aṅgula*s or approximately nine inches. Accordingly, one *aṅgula* is about 1.9 cm. This variant calculation brings the length of two finger breadths to about 3.8 cm, which seems to fit much better in the present context. Also, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.219a8–10) mentions a maximum length of two finger breadths, at least for a monk living in an isolated place (see note 4, above). For other monks, the hair should be shorter. The other *vinaya*s do not specify any maximum length. However, the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.96a14–19) indicates that, if a nun keeps her hair or if she has long hair, she commits a *pācittika*. The same *vinaya* then adds that a nun should shave her hair once every two weeks, which is considerably more often than is stipulated (for monks, but presumably also appplicable to nuns) in the Dharmaguptaka and Pāli traditions.

13. These include silk, cotton and wool. For details, see Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part II, 518–522.

14. A similar story occurs in the Pāli *vinaya* and in the *Mahīśāsakavinaya*. However, in the Pāli *vinaya* (Vin II, p.133), the woman is exposed and the monk is proven innocent. In the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (T.1421, p.173b2–11), it remains undecided whether the monk is guilty. Still, his long nails are seen by many as a sign of guilt.

15. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.945c19–20: a nail may have a maximum length of *yi mai* 一麥, 'one wheat'. *Mai* is probably a translation of the Sanskrit term *yava* (Ciyi, *Foguang Dacidian*, vol. 5, 4913, s.v. *danwei* 單位, 'unit'). The first meaning of *yava* is 'barley', probably derived from the more general meaning of grain or corn yielding flour or meal, but it also means barley-corn, and as such can be used as a measure of length (Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, 847, s.v. *yava*). The precise length of a *yava* is unclear, however. According to the aforementioned dictionaries, it seems to vary between one-eighth and one-sixth of an *aṅgula*, 'a finger breadth'. Based on the standard measures of the Buddha as calculated by the Chinese master Daoxuan, a finger breadth measures about 4.62 cm, so this means a barley-corn is something between 0.57 and 0.77 cm. Even the shorter of these is much more than a nail can grow in two weeks, so we have to presume that in this passage the variant calculation mentioned above in note 12 is more trustworthy. This makes one *aṅgula* about 1.9 cm and, accordingly, a barley-corn somewhere between 0.23 and 0.31 cm. Other *vinaya*s do not give any maximum length.

16. The *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.946a6–23, adds bans on several other personal embellishments: for instance, colouring the eyelids is criticized by lay people as unsuitable for monks. However, medicine may be added to the eyes, if they hurt. It is equally forbidden to look at one's face in a mirror or even in water, unless one needs to apply medicine and there is no one near by to help. Similarly, exercises to strengthen the body (especially shoulders and arms) are banned.

17. Nevertheless, as we have seen in Chapter II, one type of perfume – fragrant mud which is used to remove bad smells – is allowed.

18. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.946a23–29.

19. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.737b16–c15. Most other *vinaya*s have parallel rules: Pāli *vinaya*, Vin IV, pp.259–260; *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.1421, p.87b2–16 and pp.97c29–98a10 (one rule dealing with shaving the hair, and one that addresses burning off the hair of the pubic area); *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1435, p.317b25–c9 (shaving the hair on one's bottom is a *pācittika* offense; shaving the hair on other parts of the body constitutes a *duṣkṛta*, 'a bad deed'); *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.1443, p.997c11–25 (one should not shave the hair of covered places; the introductory story mentions the armpits). In addition, the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.1451, p.230c12–18) tells monks not to shave the hair in the three places, with a focus on the pubic area.

20. *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.1428, p.737c11.

21. On the interpretation of *sthūlāca*, variant *sthūlātyaya*, in the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, see Heirman, *The Discipline in Four Parts*, part I, 158–160.

22. T.1421, p.173a29–b2.

23. T.1451, p.209b29, c12–17.

24. T.1451, p.275a14–15.

25. T.1451, p.275a3–19, p.276a23–26.

26. See, for instance, Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 74. In this context, it is interesting to note that, according to the Ayurvedic tradition, shaving the hair and paring the nails was beneficial to a

man's health and purity. Both actions 'lead to the expiation of one's sins, make a man cheerful, tend to appease his fate, increase his energy and impart a lightness to the frame'. Cf. *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, vol. 2, "Cikitsā-sthāna", ch. 24, 573.

27. Olivelle, "Hair and Society," 28–29.

28. On the connection between hair and dirt in a modern Indian context, see, in particular, Edmund R. Leach, "Magical Hair," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1, no. 2 (1958): 147–164; and Paul Hershman, "Hair, Sex and Dirt," *Man* 9, no. 2 (1974): 274–298.

29. See, among others, Walter O. Kaelber, *Tapta Mārga, Asceticism and Initiation in Vedic India* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 20–21; Olivelle, "Hair and Society," 29–30.

30. See, in this context, John Powers, *A Bull of a Man*, 107–108, who discusses how non-Buddhist practices, such as long hair and nails, are often portrayed in a quite negative way by Buddhist authors.

31. On the link between asexuality and hair-shaving, see, in particular, Olivelle, "Hair and Society," 20–23.

32. Daoxuan, W 64, p.78a14–b18.

33. For details, see Heirman, "Where is the Probationer in the Chinese Buddhist Nunneries?," 126–127.

34. T.2125, pp.229c29–230a4. Even when mourning the death of one's parents, one should never give up on proper behaviour, and always shave one's hair (p.216b27).

35. T.799, pp. 744c6–745a8. For details, see Heirman, "Abridged Teaching," forthcoming.

36. John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk, Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 16–66. Still, in China, not all of these practices received a warm welcome. This was particularly true of the custom of begging for food. The ideal of a mendicant life was certainly present, but monks who sustained themselves on alms food were rare and treated with particular reverence that was reserved for strict ascetics (see Richard B. Mather, "The Bonze's Begging Bowl: Eating Practices in Buddhist Monasteries of Medieval India and China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101, no. 4 (1981): 418–419; and Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 33–35).

37. See Introduction, note 41.

38. De Groot, *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, 217–231; Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, 298–300; Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 317–320.

39. James A. Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism," *History of Religions* 37, no. 4 (May, 1998): 295–310.

40. Raoul Birnbaum, "Buddhist China at the Century's Turn," in *Religion in China Today*, ed. Daniel L. Overmyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 123. In the People's Republic of China, this practice was officially abolished in 1983 (Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh," 295).

41. T.1804, p.150a24–25, b5–7. This practice returns in the so-called 'rules of purity' (*qing gui*): *Chanyuan qing gui* 禪苑清規, *The Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery*, compiled in 1103, W 111, p.923a6; *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* 禪林備用清規, *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, compiled in 1311, W 112, p.143b11; *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*, compiled between 1335 and 1343 (T.2025,

p.1136c22–23). Welch (*The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, 269–275) indicates that cutting the last few strands of hair to mark the final transition from lay into monastic life continued to be important in early twentieth-century monasteries.

42. See, for instance, Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 116, 189–190.

43. T.1470, see Introduction, note 37.

44. T.1470, p.918a21, c8–11.

45. T.1470, p.914a16.

46. T.1804, p.126c7–11.

47. T.1804, p.23b5–9, p.146c3–13. The stipulation to shave every two weeks echoes the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* (see note 12). This seems to have lingered on until the twentieth century, as described by Holmes Welch (*The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, 115), who notes that residents of the meditation hall in large monasteries have their heads and faces shaved twice a month. Welch also notes that some monks shave more frequently, while others do not shave at all. In the latter case, long hair and a long beard are seen as markers of an ascetic lifestyle (see two of Welch's pictures, p.291 and p.349).

48. T.1897, p.873b4–11.

49. Duan Wenjie 段文傑 (ed.), *Dunhuang shique yishu* 敦煌石窟藝術 (Dunhuang Cave Art), *Yulin ku di erwu ku fu di yiwu ku (Zhong Tang)* 榆林窟第二五窟附第一五窟（中唐）(Yulin Cave 25, with Some Additions of Cave 15 (Middle Tang)) (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1993), 11.

50. W 111, p.896b1–2 (Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 163).

51. W 111, p.898a6–7 (Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 168).

52. W 111, p.877b9 (Yifa, *Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 115 and 250, note 37).

53. W 111, p.943b4–5. Exactly the same information is repeated in later *qing gui* compilations: *Conglin jiaoding qing gui zongyao* (W 112, p.50b15–17); *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* (W 112, p.137a13–14); *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* (T.2025, p.1144b25–26). For more on these morning activities, see Chapter I, note 87.

54. *Shōbō genzo* 正法眼藏, *Eye of the Treasury of the Right Dharma*, T.2582, p.30a11–c21. For a translation, see Nishijima and Cross, *The True Dharma-eye Treasure*, vol. I, 75–77.

55. According to Luo (*Hanyu da cidian*, 5), a *cun* of the Song dynasty (960–1279) corresponds to 3.12 cm.

56. Many thanks to Chen Jinhua for attracting our attention to this aspect of the portrait. For details on Fazang, see Chen Jinhua's exhaustive *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang (643–712)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

57. Yuan Ziyao 袁子耀, *Qing ke fojiao yishu tuxiang* 清刻佛教藝術圖像 (Artistic Drawings of Qing Carvings) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2006), preface. This work is based on a Buddhist canon compiled in Tokyo between 1880 and 1885, the *Dainihon kōtei shukkoku daizōkyo* 大日本校訂縮刻大藏經.

58. In the Late Qing dynasty, long nails seem to have been popular among male and female members of the nobility alike, as is noted, for instance, by William Henry Withrow, *China and its People* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1894), 63 and 137. According to Withrow, long nails were seen as a sign that one was not compelled to stoop to manual labour. He also notes that acciden-

tally broken nails were kept in cases made of precious material, such as ivory, silver or gold. Similar information is repeated in a Scottish school textbook, *Elements of Geography: Mathematical, Physical, and Political* (Glasgow: William Collins, Son, & Company, 1872), 123, which says: 'The nails of the left hand of a man of rank are allowed to grow so long that at night they are wrapped round their hand, to preserve them from breaking.' Although it is impossible to verify such a claim, we may at least surmise that long nails were common in upper-class circles.

59. Anthony C. Yu, *State and Religion in China* (Chicago and La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 2005), 96–101.

60. Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756) et al., *Xiaojing zhengyi* 孝經正義 (*Correct Meaning of the Xiaojing*), in *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 春秋公羊傳注疏 (*Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan with Comments and Annotations*), *Erya zhushu* 爾雅注疏 (*Erya with Comments and Annotations*), *Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu* 春秋穀梁傳注疏 (*Chunqiu Guliangzhuan with Comments and Annotations*) (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1972), ch. 1, 5a.

61. T.2102, pp.1–7.

62. For an introduction to the text, see, among others, Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, 13–15; John P. Keenan, *How Master Mou Removes our Doubts: a Reader Response Study and Translation of the Mou-tzu Li-huo lun* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 1–46.

63. T.2102, pp.2c16–3a6. For a discussion and a translation, see, among others, Keenan, *How Master Mou Removes our Doubts*, 83–86.

64. Liu Zenggui, "Zhongguo gudai de muyu lisu," 159.

65. *Liji zhengyi*, ch. 29, 242a.

66. Han Feizi 韓非子 (c. 280–233 BCE), *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (*The Book of Hanfei*), ch. 18, 2a–b (in *Siku quanshu*).

67. Liu An, *Huainanzi honglie jie*, ch. 16, 23b–24.

68. Cf. Benn, *Daily Life*, 115.

69. See Professor Gary Todd's website on Henan Provincial Museum exhibits: http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/kegEAueaQOunEssCFwxOiw (last accessed 8 April, 2012). As mentioned by Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, 259, iron scissors are regularly found among the grave goods of the Six Dynasties period (third–sixth century).

70. See also Chapter I, note 110.

71. Tying up the hair was probably practised throughout most sectors of society. To give one example: the *Shiji,* a historical work compiled in the first century BCE, mentions a general called Li Guang 李廣 who 'waged war against the Xiongnu after tying up his hair'. In this context, the general's hairstyle indicates that he had not reached the age of marriage; cf. Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 140–86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), ch. 109, 2874; Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*), ch. 19, 32a (in *Siku quanshu*).

72. Cf. Xiao Fan 蕭璠 , "Changsheng sixiang he yu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu 長生思想和與頭髮相關的養生方術" (The Thought of Eternal Life and Hair-Related Methods for Preserving Health in Traditional China), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院历史语言研究所 (Collected Papers of the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica) 69 (1998): 671ff. Interestingly, Xiao also mentions the practical impact of the spread and use of mirrors in ancient and medieval China, especially when pulling out white hairs (see Xiao, p. 696).

73. Chao Yuanfang, *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, vol. 2, ch. 27, 763–772.

74. For a survey of the ways in which attention was paid to physical appearance, see Benn, *Daily Life*, 107–113. For information on foreign imports during the Tang dynasty, see Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: a Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 139, 156, 175, 210 and more.

75. Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 32, 622–645.

76. Sun Simiao, *Qianjin yifang*, ch. 5, 96. The fact that such products are listed in this section may suggest that they were used exclusively by women. However, its mere location certainly does not prove that assumption. *Zao dou*, a soap of the first millennium, also appears in the 'women' section of the *Qianjin yifang*, yet we know it was used by men, too (see Chapter I). Moreover, it should be noted that Wang Tao does not include these recipes in his 'women' section. See Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 32, 635 (see below).

77. Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 32, 635–636.

78. Li Fang, *Taiping yulan*, ch. 722, 8b (in *Siku quanshu*).

79. Gao Cheng, *Shiwu jiyuan*, ch. 10, 41b (*in Siku quanshu*).

80. Chao Yuanfang, *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, vol. 2, ch. 27, 769.

81. See Chapter III, note 115.

82. Chao Yuanfang, *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, vol. 2, ch. 27, 765–767. We follow the interpretation of the term *lu tou* given in a note on a similar passage (cf. idem, vol. 1, ch. 2, 54). See also Xiao, "Changsheng sixiang," 714–716.

83. On *tou feng* 頭風, see Wiseman and Feng, *Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Medicine*, 259–260.

84. Chao Yuanfang, *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, vol. 2, ch. 27, 764, 769–770.

85. Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 32, 636. For an overview, see also Xiao, "Changsheng sixiang," 695–698.

86. Chao Yuanfang, *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, vol. 2, ch. 27, 763–764. The term *wang di* 王地 is explained in the notes (by Ding Guangdi, editor of the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*) as referring to the east (p.764, note 2).

87. Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 32, 634.

88. Sun Simiao, *Beiji qianjin yaofang*, ch. 13, 210–211.

89. Sun Simiao, *Beiji qianjin yaofang*, ch. 27, 420.

90. Wang Tao, *Waitai miyao fang*, ch. 32, 638–639.

91. For *shou zhao* 手爪, see, for instance, Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557–637), *Chenshu* 陳書 (*Book of Chen*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), ch. 7, 126; and Wei Shi 衛湜 (fl. thirteenth century), *Liji jishuo* 禮記集說 (*Collected Commentaries on the Record of Rites*), ch. 106, 6a (in *Siku quanshu*); for *zhi jia* 指甲, see, for instance, Wei Shou 魏收 (sixth century), *Weishu* 魏書 (*Book of Wei*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), ch. 112, 2915; for *zhao jia* 爪甲, see, for instance, Fang Xuanliang et al., *Jinshu*, ch. 70, 1873.

92. Han Feizi, *Hanfeizi*, ch. 9, 176.

93. For an overview of references to nail polishing throughout the literature from imperial times, see Zhang Zizhong 張自中, "Gudai guizhong funü de ran zhijia 古代閨中婦女的染指甲" (Nail

Polishing among the Ladies in the Women's Quarters in Premodern Times), *Wenshi zatan* 文史雜談 72, no. 6 (2002): 72.

94. Cf. Xu Zhuo 徐倬 (1624–1713), *Yuding quan Tang shi lu* 御定全唐詩錄 (*Imperially Ordered Record of All Poems from the Tang Dynasty*), ch. 511, 26b (in *Siku quanshu*). A recipe for nail polish is later given in a poem by Zheng Kuiqi 鄭奎妻 (exact dates unknown), a female poet from the Yuan era. In *Qiuci* 秋詞 (*Poem about Autumn*) she advocates the use of a flower, *fengxian hua* 鳳仙花 (rose balsam or *impatiens balsamina*), for this purpose; cf. Chen Zhuo 陳焯 (fl. 1652), *Song Yuan shihui* 宋元詩會 (*Collection of Poems from Song and Yuan*), ch. 100, 29 (in *Siku quanshu*).

95. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) et al., *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (*New Book of the Tang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), ch. 203, 5788. A fellow poet, Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–858), also mentions Li He's long nails; cf. *Li He shiji* 李賀詩集 (*Collected Poems of Li He*), ed. Ye Chongqi 葉葱奇 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), 358.

96. The manuscript of this text (S. 95) forms part of the Stein Collection. For a detailed analysis, see Lionel Giles, "Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection VI. Tenth Century (947–995)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, no. 1 (1943): 153–154.

97. Sun Simiao, *Beiji qianjin yaofang*, ch. 27, 412.

Conclusion

For monastic authors, bodily care primarily involves bathing, washing, cleaning, shaving and trimming the nails, activities of everyday life that are performed by lay people and monastics alike. In this sense, they are all highly recognizable and provide a potential bridge between two worlds that are constantly interacting with each other. All monastics are lay people originally, and even after they have abandoned the lay world, they continue to come into contact with it frequently. The two communities mutually strengthen each other, if only through an interchange of material support and karmic return. This principle led to the development of an image of an ideal monastic community – a dignified community that merited respect and material support, and was able to provide benefits to the lay world in return. These high expectations demanded socially spotless behaviour of the *saṃgha*, and consequently numerous guidelines on how to achieve it. Against this background, the constant accumulation of filth and dirt, the ceaseless production of human waste, and the continual growth of hair and nails constitute processes that are beyond human control. They therefore pose a constant and imminent threat, and need to be constrained. So it is hardly surprising that masters throughout the Buddhist world have turned their attention to how to deal with filth and waste. In India and China, their search for the right disciplinary answers has provided us with rich data on bathing and toilet practices, on dental and oral care, and on shaving and nail trimming, all of which provide invaluable insights into the ideal material setting for monastic life.

The wealth of monastic guidelines on bodily care shed light on numerous aspects of monastic life through their discussions of a variety of objects and customs, the vast majority of which have parallels in the lay world. In the first few centuries of Buddhist monastic writing, the guidelines were structured by, and embedded in, Indian society, so, inevitably, they defined an ideal *Indian* monastic environment. Around the beginning of the Common Era, however, these guidelines started to make their way to China, and from then on they also influenced the development of the Chinese Buddhist monastic community. This development gave rise to many academic questions, including a crucial one relating to impact. Did guidelines that were rooted in one society dictate the development and organization of a neighbouring (but very different) society, or were those guidelines themselves moulded by the new society they entered? In the context of bodily care, it is difficult to substantiate any impact either way. While bathing and washing activities are often remarkably similar in relatively distant societies, that does not necessarily mean that practices and utensils travelled over long distances, or that impact was either impossible or unlikely. Unfortunately, the available data often do not provide any substantial proof of either hypothesis. On the other hand, Chinese monastic texts (supplemented by other sources, such as archaeological findings and medical treatises) provide valuable insights into the traditions of bodily care in the Chinese monastic environment,

which, in turn, allow us to discern similarities to and differences from Indian practices. In this way, they reveal a number of developments.

At least one aspect of Indian Buddhism had a particularly striking impact on China, to such an extent that we rarely even view it as an impact, because it seems so natural: the practice of living together as a group in a monastery. In the context of bodily care, this also meant communal bathing facilities, a custom that was probably entirely unknown, or at least very unusual, in lay China, as is noted by John Kieschnick.[1] Similarly unknown in China was the chewing of tooth wood. It remains impossible to determine the extent to which this teeth-cleaning practice was adopted in the medieval Chinese context. However, it was depicted on a mural around this time, it appears in several medical texts, and it continued to be practised in large public monasteries – presumably because of its Buddhist origins – into the twentieth century. The use of a wooden toilet stick to scrape oneself clean was probably also Buddhist in origin. Although not unknown in China before the arrival of Buddhism, it continued to be used in many Buddhist monasteries even after the development of several alternatives, including toilet paper. The origins and impact of many other tools and practices are even more difficult to determine. Nevertheless, the mere fact that they appear in Buddhist guidelines gives them some aura, if only through constant repetition in disciplinary texts.

*Vinaya*s – or disciplinary texts – indeed always retained a high symbolic value. These texts contain myriad rules pertaining to the body that are rooted in an Indian society that had its own traditions of bodily care. When Buddhism reached China, these *vinaya* rules on bodily care – as well as their tools and techniques – were disseminated in a foreign context, where they promoted new standards. On the other hand, Buddhist bodily care practices were far from unique, or even necessarily superior. In fact, the Indian tradition came into contact with parallel traditions that had been practised at the heart of Chinese society for centuries. For instance, at the time of the arrival of Buddhism in China, paying attention to bodily care had long been acknowledged as an important characteristic of the ideal Confucian gentleman (*junzi* 君子). The canonical works of Confucianism repeatedly advocate such practices as regular bathing and hair care. Meanwhile, the Daoist *yangsheng* tradition is built upon many concepts that are very similar to those of Buddhism, as well as many others that are very different. So, while there is no notion of karmic virtue and a better rebirth in the Daoist tradition, the practices of bodily care promoted by Buddhists in order to attain those ultimate goals often mirror the ways in which *yangsheng* practitioners attempt to attain longevity. The Buddhist rules on bodily care became ingrained in Chinese society against this background of traditional Confucian and Daoist values. The extent and ways in which these traditions interacted with and influenced each other should be the focus of future research. Here, we have identified at least one domain where such interaction occurred frequently: in the context of medical care.

Contrary to what twenty-first-century readers might expect, it is important to note that most bodily care practices were not motivated by a desire to improve hygiene

and thereby reduce illness. Dirt was certainly to be avoided, but usually not because it was seen as unhealthy. This explains why, when toilet, shaving and trimming practices are discussed, hygiene is hardly mentioned at all. To the medieval Buddhist mind, dirt undermines decorum and/or purity; it is not detrimental to health. Medical conditions are mentioned more frequently when writers – especially Indian masters and the Chinese traveller monk Yijing – turn their attention to bathing practices. Nevertheless, even here, dirt is not considered to be a health problem, but rather is abhorred because of its potential impact on decency. If bathing is promoted because of its health benefits, this is not because it removes filth, but because it cures diseases that are linked to such phenomena as summer heat and overeating. Causal connections between filth and disease are made only when the *vinaya*s and Yijing offer advice on teeth and mouth cleaning. Most Chinese masters, by contrast, continue to focus on decency and purity when discussing the teeth and the mouth. They rarely raise hygienic considerations, despite the rich 'nourishing life' (*yangsheng* 養生) tradition in China.

When describing a wide range of tools and utensils, and demanding the strict observance of numerous practices, both Indian and Chinese disciplinary texts pay a great deal of attention to the body. The body demarcates Buddhist monks and nuns on an individual as well as a community level. This moulding of a Buddhist identity through the body introduced a radically new practice to China: head shaving. Although this directly opposed Confucian tradition, the symbolic act of shaving the head soon firmly established itself, never to disappear. Other bodily markers – such as clean teeth and nails – also became universally accepted standards, perceived as mirroring the community's attitude towards cleanliness, decency, dignity and purity. A clean community is a trustworthy community, free from all kinds of filth. Such cleanliness is frequently used in support of claims of purity embedded in a physio-moral discourse. Linking external and internal features in this way evolved rapidly in the Chinese context, a process that was marked by increased determination to set a single standard of cleanliness and purity that was applicable to all aspects of monastic life. Dirt, sweat, foul breath, filthy hair and grubby nails are all symbols of pollution that damage the respect and self-respect of the Buddhist community and harm its reputation for reliability. Furthermore, an absence of cleanliness, and thus of purity, strongly undermines lay supporters' confidence in the *saṃgha*'s ability to bring them benefits or, in a larger sense, to serve society.

In summary, we can say that the Buddhist monastic body acts as a visiting card. Monks and nuns identify and present themselves through their bodies. Buddhist monastics and their lay supporters, in India and China alike, thus prefer to exercise strict control over their bodies and are rather reluctant to relax their grip. Accordingly, exploring the practices and objects used in monastic bodily care deepens our understanding of the continual development of attitudes relating to the body in ever-widening contexts through time and space. It reveals both the continuity and the evolution of Buddhist monastic life across borders, and the symbiosis of monastic communities and their lay surroundings. Normative texts have a special significance

as they allow us to gain insights into both enduring traditions and developments in habits, social rules and modes of behaviour. These texts, corroborated by such sources as medico-philosophical treatises, paintings and archaeological findings, illuminate elements of social and monastic life that would otherwise remain hidden from view. They reveal an increasing and extraordinary concern for control of external behaviour that helped to define the ideal self-image and identity of the Buddhist monastic community. In China, this development culminated in the large public monasteries of the Song era, which continued to impose their standard for centuries to come, even beyond the borders of China itself. This standard was not invented by a single person, but rather was the expression of an overall trend that corresponded to what was expected of each member of the monastic community. In Norbert Elias's words, then, codes on bodily care represent 'exactly what we are seeking – namely, the standard of habits and behavior to which society at a given time sought to accustom the individual'.[2]

Notes

1. Kieschnick, "Buddhist Monasticism," 570.
2. Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, 109, transl. 84.

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Abbreviations

Beishi	*Beishi* 北史 (*History of the Northern Dynasties*). Compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
DZ	*Daozang* 道藏 . Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi 信文豐出版公司 edition, 1977.
Ennin	円仁 (793-864), *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 . Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2006 [1985].
Siku quanshu	*Wenyuange Siku quanshu dianzi ban* 文淵閣四庫全書电子版 (Electronic Edition of the *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*). ed. Yu Zhiming 余志明 (Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chuban youxian gongsi). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2005.
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大蔵經. 85 vols., eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–34.
Vin	*Vinaya Piṭakaṃ: One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language*. 5 vols, ed. Herman Oldenberg. 1879–83. Reprint, London: Pali Text Society, 1969–93.
W	*Wan xuzang jing* 卍續藏經. 150 vols., ed. Xinwenfeng Bianshenbu 新文豐編審部 . Taipei: Xinwenfeng Chuban.
Zhuzi jicheng	*Zhuzi jicheng* 諸子集成 (Collection of the Various Schools of Thought). 8 vols., eds. Guoxue zhenglishe 國學整理社. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954.

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